STUDIES IN

BUDDHISM



INSTITUTE OF ORISSAN CULTURE

BHUBANESWAR, ORISSA

STUDIES IN
BUDDHISM

INSTITUTE OF ORISSAN CULTURE
BHUBANESWAR

Studies in Buddhism
1995

Published by

Institute of Orissan Culture
Vivekananda Marg
Bhubaneswar 751 002
Orissa

Published with financial assistance from

Archaeological Survey of India
&
Dr. Debiprasad & Smt. Sarojini Mishra, Alabama, USA

Printed at

SHOVAN
106 Acharya Vihar
Bhubaneswar 751 013

Price : Rs. 200 (Rupees Two hundred only)

CONTENTS

Presidential address

Hon'ble Governor, Hon'ble Shri Justice Ranganath Mishra, Professor Trilochan Misra, esteemed Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I deem it a unique privilege to extend a hearty welcome to our honourable guests, resource persons and scholar participants to the two-day National Seminar on Buddhism conducted by our Institute of Orissan Culture. On behalf of the Institute I convey our deep sense of gratitude to the Hon'ble Governor of Orissa, Sj. B. Satyanarayan Reddy and to Hon'ble Shri Justice Ranganath Mishra for the pains they have taken to be in our midst today.

The Institute, despite all odds, has been conducting National Seminars annually in the interest of our scholars and we are fortunate that eminent scholars from different parts of India including our State have always honoured our request by coming over to us to present their scholarly papers and participate in the learned discourses. Our young scholars are being encouraged and amply rewarded by their august presence and erudition.

The Institute, during its annual course of Seminar, has tendered humble hospitality to our outstation delegates, which I am afraid, is miserably inadequate but they have shown a remarkable sense of generosity and love for the Institute in their ungrudging acceptance of our insufficient hospitality.

We are grateful to the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India for their modest financial assistance to publish the book *Studies in Saivism* which is being released today.

During my recent visit to U.S.A. on an assignment to deliver lectures at Nashville and Harvad, I was overwhelmed to see the sons of Orissa getting united under a cultural banner. They do remember our heritage and honestly desire to boost up the cultural profile of Orissa. I am grateful to Dr. Debiprasad and his wife Mrs. Sarojini Mishra who have made a great gesture towards the publications by our Institute.

The present Seminar on Buddhism has its great relevance. Orissa is the homeland of Buddhism. Here Ashoka fought the epic war, consequent upon which the spark of Buddhism spread all over the world. Orissa possesses numerous Buddhist Vihars teeming with great teachers and exponents of Buddhist philosophy of which the Puspagiri Vihar at Lalitgiri

was unique. Incidentally, Orissa happens to be the cultivating ground for the metamorphosis of Buddhism from a regional religion to a world religion. Our learned scholars will dwell upon all these aspects during the present Seminar.

What we need today is a rational probe of our varying religious strands with a view to finding out a meaningful message to the present society which is torn asunder. Our nationalism, interpersonal relationship and community living are at stake now. We should unitedly fight for establishing greater amity amidst all adversity. It is to be noted that all our efforts made in organising these Seminars aim at National Integration.

Let all remain in peace.

Let Lord Buddha enkindle in us a new flame of cohesion and peaceful coexistence.

Jai Hind

K.C. Mishra



Vedic Sacrifice and Buddhism

T.N. Dharmadhikari*

According to the tradition as preserved by the Vedānga Jyotiṣa[1], the sole purpose of the Vedas is to enjoin Sacrifice. Śrauta-sūtras[2] and the Mīmāṁsā School[3] also maintain the similar view. Mīmāṁsakas hold that the Vedas are the unworldly means to achieve what is beneficial and to discard what is not so.[4]

Sacrifice according to the Vedas is the best of the best actions.[5] As Parjanya rains down good rains, so does the Sacrifice rain for the sacrificer.[6]

Buddhism is a *nāstika* school of religion and philosophy, i.e. it does not accept the Vedas as an authoritative means of knowledge. Mādhavācārya includes Buddhism in the nāstika-darśanas in his *Sarvadarśana-Saṅgraha.*

Interestingly, the celebrated Buddhist Scholar, Dr. Dharmānanda Kosambī, in his small book designated as Bhagavān - Buddha, (part 2), written in Marathi, unhesitatingly states that - "there is no evidence to prove that Lord Buddha defamed the Vedas. On the other hand he immensly praised the Vedas on various accounts."[7]

"The Vedic brahmins like Mahākātyāyana gained prominence in the Bhiksu-Sangha of Lord Buddha. It is therefore impossible that Lord Buddha had reproached the Vedas. However the killing of cows and bulls and other animals in sacrifice prescribed by the Vedas was totally disapproved by him".

Probably keeping in view, the killing of animals in sacrifice, Buddha referred to a sacrificer as *ātmantapa* i.e. tormenting himself and also as *parantapa* i.e. tormenting even others. The *ātmantapa* aspect amounts to austerity, which Lord Buddha may have approved. But the *parantapa* aspect was against his discipline.

The sacrificer and his wife torment themselves by following the hard rules of dīkṣā, partaking a small quantity of milk derived from only one teat of a cow. Therefore they were regarded as *ātmantapa*.

They were *parantapa* because they caused to kill the animals in the sacrifices, caused to injure the trees for preparing sacrificial post (Yūpa)

* Director, Vedic Samsodhan Mandal, Pune.

and caused to cut the *barhis*-grass for spreading round the fire-places and on altars.[8]

The *Dīgha-nikāya-sutta - (Kosala Saṁyutta-Yañyasutta)* describes a sacrifice performed by Pasenadi - a king of Kosala, wherein 500 bulls, 500 calves, 500 heifers, 500 goats and 500 rams were tied to a sacrificial post, awaiting their last breath. Having heard about this sacrifice Lord Buddha advised - "the sacrifices like Assamedha, Purisa-medha, Sammāpāsa (i.e. śamyāprāsa and not samyakpāśa as rendered by Kosāmbī), Vajapeya and niraggala (?) etc., performed with pomp and glory do not yield a great fruit. The great seers do not attend a sacrifice in which the goats and rams, cows and bulls are killed. A sacrifice in which the animals are not killed, yield a great fruit. Such sacrifices are auspicious for a sacrificer. They do not bring sin to him. An intelligent sacrificer should perform only such sacrifices. The gods are gratified with such sacrifices.[9]

Kūtadanta-sutta in *Dīgha-nikāya* narrates a myth of a sacrifice, being performed by a brahmin named Kūta-danta, living in a village Khānumata by name, in Magadha-country. In his sacrifice, 700 calves, 700 goats and 700 rams were tied to the sacrificial post.[10] Incidentally Lord Buddha was passing through this village. Kūtadanta approached Lord Buddha and requested him to impart advice for a beneficial sacrifice. Buddha then told the story of a king - Mahāvijita by name - as follows -'The sacrifice of King Mahavijita was embellished with 16 virtues. People of four classes had supported his sacrifice. The sacrificer - the king possessed 8 virtues, the priest was decorated with four virtues. In this sacrifice the cows, goats and rams etc., were not killed. The peacocks *(kukkuta)* and boars were also not killed. The trees were not cut off for sacrificial post and even the *darbha* - grass was not cut off for spreading on the altar. The sacrifice was performed with ghee, oil, butter, curd, honey and raw-sugar. Lord Buddha then added that he himself was a brahmin, who discharged the office of a priest in his earlier birth.[11]

Again, in *Aṅguttara - nikāya,* there is a reference to a sacrifice, being performed by a brahmin, named Vigataśarīra, wherein 500 bulls, 500 calves, 500 heifers, 500 goats and 500 rams were tied to the sacrificial post for killing and offering. This sacrifice was condemned by Lord Buddha.[12]

From the above references, one can conclusively opine that Lord Buddha did not disapprove of Vedic sacrifice. What he disapproved was the killing of animals in the sacrifice.

Let me now examine the references to the killing of victims as stated in the Buddhist literature, in the light of Vedic ritualistic literature.

We have seen, that in the sacrifice of Pasenadi and in that of Vigataśarīra 500 bulls, 500 calves, 500 heifers, 500 goats and 500 rams were tied to the sacrificial post, while in that of Khānumata the number of each of the victim - species is raised to 700. Besides there is a reference to peacocks and boars being victims in sacrifice.

Even after thorough investigation, I could not find a Vedic Sacrifice or a group of Vedic Sacrifices wherein such a large number of victims is prescribed to be killed.

Besides *Homa,* there are three norms of Vedic Sacrifice; viz. *Iṣṭi, Paśubandha* and *Soma.*

A sacrificer, desirous of fame, may offer Agnihotra-offering with meat[13] (purchased from meat-market). This was also optional.

The Iṣṭi form of sacrifice is exclusive of any victim. It is only in the Patnī-saṁyāja in the isti that an offering of a tail of an animal (brought from meat-market) is made to Devapatnīs. However, melted ghee is prescribed as an alternative for this offering[14] also.

In Paśubandha, only one goat is offered.[15] Paśubandha is performed, each year or each six months.[16]

In kāmya paśu-sacrifices, the number of victims varies, but it is limited to maximum three.[17]

In the soma sacrifices, three victims are offered viz. a goat to Agni and Soma, a savanīya animal and an anūbandhyā cow.[18]

Only two additional victims are prescribed in the Soma sacrifice, for expiations[19], if any.

In the Ukthya sacrifice, one additional victim is offered to Indrāgni. In the Sodasi, one more victim, viz. a Vṛṣṇi to Indra is offered. In the Atirātra, one more victim, viz. a ram to Sarasvatī is offered.[20]

In Vājapeya sacrifice, the following victims are offered - one goat to Agni, one goat to Indrāgnī, one goat to Indra, one barren cow to Maruts, one ram to Sarasvat, one female ram to Sarasvatī and seventeen goats to Prajāpati. The total number of victims in the Vājapeya is thus, twenty-three only.[21]

In the Caraka Sautrāmani, only two goats and one cow are offered.[22] Additionally one more victim is offered if one vomits *soma*-drink.

In the Kokila Sautrāmanī, only one victim is offered to Indra-Vayodhāḥ.[23]

Rājasūya consists of six *soma*-sacrifices - viz. Pavitra, Abhiṣecaniya, Daśapeya, Keśa-Vapanīya, Vyuṣti and Kṣatrasya-dhṛti. Only usual number of victims, viz. - three, as required in the Agniṣṭoma are offered in each of the six soma sacrifices.

Aśvamedha is prescribed for a soverign king (Sārvabhauma) or for a king who desires sovereignty.[24] Naturally, it has to be performed with pomp and glory. It consists of three *soma*-sacrifices viz. (1) Gotama-Catuṣṭoma (Pūrva); (2) Ukthya (Ekaviṁśa) and (3) Atirātra. It is only in the second *soma*-sacrifice (i.e. Ukthya-ekaviṁśa) that comparatively a large number of victims are prescribed. Even then all the (110) Āranya-victims are released after they are worshipped.[25]

The *Puruṣa-medha* consists of five *soma*-pressing days. Only seventeen calves are offered on each of the five days and a total number of seventeen bulls are offered during the period of five days.[26]

On the 3rd pressing day, the men from all castes and creeds, as prescribed in T. Br. 3.4.1 - 1 - 19, are tied to the *Yūpa,* but all of them are released after they are worshipped.[27]

The *Sarva-medha* consists of ten pressing days. It is much similar to the Aśvamedha,[28] as far as victims are concerned, and to the Puruṣa-medha,[29] as far as the Puruṣa-victims, which are finally released, are concerned.

The *Ahina*-sacrifices (consisting of maximum twelve pressing days) or the *sattras* (lasting for more than twelve days) are only the combinations of six types of the *soma*-sacrifices. Each soma sacrifice requires only the usual number of victims. In the few such sacrifices, Ekādaśinī - (a group of eleven victims) is required to be performed.

To conclude, in no Vedic sacrifice, 500 or 700 victims multiplied by 5 species, viz. - bulls, calves, heifers, goats and rams were killed at a time.

Thus, we get no reference in the entire Vedic literature prescribing the killing of animals in such a large number as is mentioned in the Buddhist literature.

On the other hand for the Mīmāṁsakas, in Paśvaikādhikaraṇa (Js 4.1.5) and Kapiñjalādhikaraṇa (Js 11.1.8) the number of victims of Agnī-somau is restricted to one and the number of Kapiñjala birds to Vasanta, (in the Aśvamedha) is restricted to three. (It may be noted that the kapinjalas along with other animals are not killed but further released). Thus while interpreting the Vedic sentence - 'Agnīṣomīyam paśum alabheta',

the *Pūrvapakṣa* states that the singular number indicated by the suffix *am* in Paśum, is not intended to be prescribed. Hence any number of victims could be offered. The Siddhāntin denies this view and restricts the number of goat to one only.

Thus, while interpreting the Vedic sentence *'Kapiñjalān alabheta'* - the pūrvapakṣa argues that, since the word 'Kapiñjalān' is in plural, any number of Kapiñjala birds, which is more than three, be tied to the sacrificial post. The Siddhāntin recommends that, since the number three is sufficient to answer the plural suffix, only three be tied.

Thus the science of sacrifice does not allow the number of victims to be more than what suffices, and restricts it to what would be minimum.

Let me therefore affirm that the number of victims in Vedic sacrifice referred to in Buddhist literature appears to be much exaggerated. The motive behind this exaggeration however may be healthy - viz. to gather sympathy to stop the killing of animals in Vedic sacrifice in the name of Dharma.

It may again, not necessarily be maintained that the Vedas preached *himsa,* through the killing of a victim in sacrifice; for, while taking a cut by knife at the navel of even the dead victim, or even while cutting the sacrificial grass or a branch of a tree for Yūpa, with a sickle, the Sruti texts urge the Adhvaryu to pray - O Sickle, do not injure'[30] *(Oṣadhe trāyasvainam - svadhite mainam himsiḥ).* Adhvaryu again does not cut the sacrificial grass or a tree with its roots. He cuts the bunch of sacrificial grass from where the streaks shoot out and cuts only one branch of tree for Yūpa. He is further required to pour ghee over the cuts and wounds of the bunch or a tree, and to pray - 'do you again grow hundred fold'.[31] *(Vanaspate śatavalśam viroha).* That is why Kalidasa, the poet of tender heart, advocated that a Śrotriya, though he apperently appears to be cruel at the killing of a victim, possesses a delicate and compassionate heart - *(Paśumāraṇa - karma-dāruṇah anukampā-mṛdur eva śrotriyaḥ - Śākuntalam).*[32]

Historically speaking, the prescription of offering animals in Vedic sacrifice, owes its origin to a common practice of including meat in food. Animal-meat was the food of people and probably no class of the earlier Vedic society had totally refrained from consuming meat. Should I mention that even Lord Buddha had not totally given up meat-eating, even after shifting to monk-hood.

So, the Vedic people offered to gods, what they used to eat. The *Rāmāyaṇa* clearly states that whatever food one consumes, becomes the food of his god also.[33]

In the *saṭṭipatthana sutta,* there is a reference to the killing of cow or bull and the sale of its meat at a square place in villages.[34]

Dr. Dharmananda Kosambi[35] comments that Buddha did not reproach such practices of sale of meat at a square place, in the terms in which he censured animal killing in sacrifice. Further he adds that - this does not mean that this practice was approved by Lord Buddha.

According to the *Bhāgvata Purāṇa,* the Vedic sentences enjoining the killing of animals in the sacrifice, really do not aim at prescribing animal-killing. Such Vedic sentences may be regarded as *parisaṅkhyā vidhi,* instead of as *apūrva-vidhi.* It means that, if at all, one has a passion for killing an animal, he may do so in sacrifice only.[36] Animal killing is not obligatory in the sacrifices. Such references really aim at prohibiting animal-killing at the events, other than sacrifice.

Thus, like Buddha, a later sect of Bhāgavatas also disapproved animal-offering in the sacrifices. Instead, they replaced the animal with *ajya* - melted ghee, or an image of an animal prepared out of flour of corn.

This trend of thought viz. - the disapproval of animal killing and replacing the animal with some other material had originated long before Lord Buddha and its traces can be found in old *Brāhmaṇa* literature also.

Thus *T.Br.*3.2.8.8. states that the sacrificial cake - *(Puroḍāśa)* is a prototype - an image - of the animal-victim., suggesting that *Puroḍāśa* be offered in place of an animal victim.[37]

The *Maitrāyanī Saṁhitā,* which probably is older than the Taittiriya School, describes that the rice or wheat offered are indeed the *Paśus.* If *Puroḍāśa*, i.e. a sacrificial cake prepared out of rice or wheat - flour is offered, it serves the purpose of animal offering.[38]

Śatapatha Br. 1.2.3.5. - also contributes to this view - saying - If *puroḍāśa,* a sacrificial cake is offered, it is really an animal immolated.[39]

Aitareya Br. 2.9, going a step further, identifies the *puroḍāśa* offering with the animal offering. It explains - the *puroḍāśa* offering represents the animal offering, for, the *puroḍāśa* is prepared out of corn. The beard of corn are the hair of an animal. The chaff of grains are the skin of an animal. The smallest broken grains (with husk) represent the blood, the particles of groundcorn means the flesh, the quintessence of corn be regarded the bones. If therefore, a sacrificer performs a sacrifice with *Puroḍāśa,* he performs it with the best sacred parts of an animal.[40]

This is equally true in case of *ājya*-offering. *Ājya*-melted ghee is a direct product from animal. It is the essence of *Paśu.* No wonder therefore, that *ājya* offering was prescribed in place of a *Paśu.*[41]

Buddha sometimes interprets the sacrificial terminology a little differently. While imparting advice to Uggataśarīra, a brahmin referred to above, he states-[42] 'One should honour and worship three fires. Which are they? They are Āhuneyyaggi, Gahapataggi and Dakkhineyaggi' [viz. the Āhavanīyāgni, Gārhapathyāgni and dakṣināgni, which are famous in Vedic sacrifice. Further he says - 'parents are indeed Āhavanīya. Family members including servants are Gārhapatya and Śramaṇa-brāhmaṇas are Daksināgni. They be worshipped and honoured. They are as honourable as sacrificial fires'.

Such identification and interpretation of sacrificial terms had begun in the earlier period of the *Upaniṣads*.

Thus *Praśnopaniṣad*[43] identifies Āhavanīya with Prāna, Gārhapatya with Apāna, and Daksiṇāgni with Vyāna, and a sacrificer with *manas*.

Thus *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*[44] (5.18.2) describes that the *barhis* - the sacrificial grass are the hair, the Gārhapatya is the heart, the Daksināgni is the mind and the Āhavanīya is the mouth - etc.

Thus again the *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad*[45] (4.26.15) interprets the Gārhapatya as *Karma* (work), the Āhavanīya as *Śama* (absence of passion) and the Anvāhāryapacana as *dama* (self restraint).

In the uttarādhyayana - sutra of the Jains also, Harikeśa states, - 'austerity is my agni, the soul is fire place, meditation is offering-ladle, the body is the dried cow-dung as fuel and actions are the enkindling wooden-sticks; self restraint is the peace. Thus I perform sacrifice as prescribed by seers'.

Thus the Upaniṣadic line of thinking, which interpreted the sacrificial terms differently, deviating from their literal meaning, appears to have been adopted by Buddhism (and also by Jainism).

In my opinion, such interpretations of sacrificial terms indicate the affinity and reference of the interpreters to the concept of sacrifice and that they could not drive away the sacrifice, deep-rooted in their hearts.

To sum up and conclude - Lord Buddha was not against the *Sāttvika* type of Vedic sacrifice. He probably regarded the killing of an animal in sacrifice, as *Tāmasa*; and consequently disapproved of it. However the trend of replacing the animal with certain other oblations, though weak and feeble, was present in the Vedas, which Buddha wanted to uphold and which was further supported by the sects of Bhāgavatas.

Consequently Lord Buddha was regarded as the 9th incarnation of Viṣṇu. Jayadeva therefore praises him in high terms - saying :

Nindasi yajñavidher ahaha śrutijatam
Sadaya-hrdaya - darśita - paśu - ghātam :
Keśava dhṛta - Buddha - śarīra,
Jaya jagadiśa hare.

I may, therefore, be allowed to say that the *Ahiṁsā* in sacrifice, was a Vedic trend and was upheld by Lord Buddha. In the later development of Hindusim, it was theoretically assimilated by Hinduism.

Reference

1. वेदा हि यज्ञार्थमभिप्रवृत्ता: - लगधकृत वेदाङ्ग ज्योतिष -
2. यज्ञं व्याख्यास्याम: स त्रिभिर्वेदै: विधीयते। (आपश्रौ 24.1.1, 3)
3. आम्नायस्य क्रियार्थत्वात् --- (जै सू 1.2.1)
4. प्रत्यक्षेणानुमित्या वा यस्तूपायो न बुध्यते।
   एनं विदन्ति वेदेन तस्मात् वेदस्य वेदता ॥
   Cp also इष्टप्राप्ति - अनिष्ट परिहारयो: अलौकिकम् उपायं यो ग्रन्थो वेदयति स वेद:।
   Sayana - in his Introduction to the Taittiriya-Samhita-Commentary.
5. यज्ञो हि श्रेष्ठतमं कर्म - (तै बा 3.2.9), यज्ञो वै श्रेष्ठतम: (मै सं 4.9.9)
6. यथा वै पर्जन्य: सुवृष्टं वर्षति एवं यज्ञो यजमानाय वर्षति। (Ts. 1.6.10)
7. भगवान बुध्द (उत्तरार्ध) by डॉ. धर्मानन्द कोसम्बी, Published in नवभारत ग्रन्थमाला - त्र.१७. Publishers - सुविचार प्रकाशन मंडळ - नागपूर व पुणे. Year 1941. Page 56 - Lines 12 onwards.
   'बुध्दाने वेदांची निंदा केल्याचा दाखला कोठेच आढळत नाही। याच्या उलट वेदाभ्यासाचा जिकडे तिकडे गौरव सांपडतो। बुध्दाच्या भिक्षुसंघांत महाकात्यायनासारखे वेदपारंगत ब्राह्मण होते। तेव्हां बुध्द भगवान् वेद निंदा करी हे संभवतच नाही। पण यज्ञयागांत होणारी गायी बैलांची हिंसा त्यास इतर श्रमणकांप्रमाणे पसंत नव्हती।'
8. मज्झिमनिकाय - कन्दरकसुत्त: - यं एकस्मिंथने रवीरं होति तेन राजा यापेति। यं दुतियस्सिं थने रवीरं होति तेन महिसी यापेति। सो एवमाह - एत्थका उसभा हञ्ञन्तु यञ्ञत्याय एत्थका बच्छतरा -- एत्थका वच्छतरियो -- अजा -- उरभा - अस्सा हञ्ञन्तु यञ्ञत्थाय। एत्थका रुक्सा छिञ्ञन्तु यूपत्थाय। एत्तका दब्भा लूयन्तु बरिहित त्थाय -- etc.
9. दीघनिकाय - कोसल संयुत्त - यञ्ञसुत्त - तेन खो पन समयेन रञ्ञो पसेनदिस्स कोसलस्स महायञ्ञो पच्चुपट्ठितो होति। पञ्च उसभसतानि पञ्च च उरभसतानि यूणुपनीतानि होंति यञ्ञत्थाय। अथ खो भगवो एतमत्थं विदित्वा तायं वेलायां इमा गाथाओ अभासि - अस्समेधं पुरिसमेधं सम्पापासं वाजपेयं। निरग्गलं महारब्भा न होंति महप्फला। अजेळका च गावो च विविधा यत्थ हञ्ञरे। न तं सम्मगता यञ्ञं उपयन्ति महेसिनो। ये यञ्ञा निरारब्धा नेत्थ हञ्ञरे। एवं सम्मगता यञ्ञं उपयन्ति महेसिनो। ए तं यजेथ मेधावीएसो यञ्ञो महप्फलो। एवं हि यजमानस्स सेय्यो होति न पापियो। यञ्ञो च विपुलो होति पसीदन्ति च देवता ॥
10. कूटदन्तसुत्त - दीघनिकाय - खाणुमतं नाम मगधानां ब्राह्मणग्रामे। तेन खो पन समयेन कूटदन्तो ब्राह्मणे खाणुमतं अज्झावसति। -- तेन खो पन समयेन कूटदन्तस्स ब्राह्मणस्स

महायञ्ञो उपक्खटो होति । -- सत्त च उसभसतानि -- सत्र च वच्छतरसतानि - सत्र च उरधसतानि थूणूपनीतानि होन्ति ।

11. तत्थि खो ब्राह्मण, यञ्ञे नेव गावो हञ्ञिसु, न अजेळका हञ्ञिंसु - न कुकुट सुकरा हञ्ञिंसु - न रुक्खा छिञ्ञिंसु यूपत्थाय, न दब्मा लुञ्ञिसु बरिहिसत्थाय । सप्पि-तेल-नवनीत-दधि-मधु-फाणितेन चेव सो यञ्ञो निठ्ठानम गमासि । अहं तेन समयेन पुरोहितो ब्राह्मणो अहोसिं तस्स यञ्ञस्स याजेता इति ।

12. Anguttara - nikaya - Sattaka-nipata.

13. ApsS 6.15.1 - मांसेन पशुकामस्य ।

14. ApsS 3.8.10 - जाधन्या पत्नी: संयाजयन्ति । आज्यस्य वा यथागृहीतेन Cp. रुद्रदत्र - याज्ञियस्य पशो: जाघन्या पुच्छेन लौकिकेन देवानां पत्नी: संयाजयान्ती ।

15. Ap s S 7.12.1 - पशु स्नपयति - - - etc.

16. Ap s S 7.28.6 - तेन संवत्सरे संवस्तरे यजेत । ष्पट्सु ष्पट्सु मासेष्वित्येके ।

17. eg. वायव्यामजामालभेत । सारस्वतीं मेषीम् अड्रित्यै अजाम् आमक्षस्यमान: ।

18. Sayana on TS. 1.3.5. ज्योतिष्टोमे पशव: - अग्नी-षोमीय-सवनीय-अनूबन्धा: त्रयो विहिता: । Cp. मीमांसा सूत्र - 11.3.3; Cp Ap s s 12.23.6 - मैत्रावरुणीं गां वशामनूबन्ध्यामालभेत ।

19. e.g. TS 2.1.10 - आश्विनं धूममालभेत -- वायव्यं गोमृगं – etc.

20. Cp- Ap s s 12.18.13-14 - ऐन्द्राग्रमुक्षये । ऐन्द्रं षोडशिनि । सारस्वतम् अतिरात्रे । समम्युच्चयवत् एके समामनन्ति । आग्नेयमग्निष्टोम आलमते । ऐन्द्राग्नमुबक्ष्ये द्वितीयम् । ऐन्द्रं वृष्णिं षोडशिनं तृतीयम् । सारस्वतीं मेषीं चतुर्थीमतिरात्रे ।

21. T. Br. 1.3.4 - सप्तदशा प्राजापत्यान् पशूनालभते । आग्नेयं पशुमालभते आग्निष्टोममेव तेनावरुन्ध्दे । ऐन्द्राग्नेनोक्थ्यम् । ऐन्द्रेण षोडशिन: स्तोत्रम् । सारस्वत्याऽति रात्रम् । मारुत्या बृहत: स्तोत्रम् । Ap s s 18.2.12-13 - पशुकाले त्रीन् पशूनुपाकृत्य मारुतीं वशामुपाकरोति । सारस्वतीं च मेप्पीम् अपन्नदतीम् । सारस्वतं मेष्पमुपाकृत्य सप्तदश प्राज्यापत्यान् पशुनुपाकरोति ।

22. Ap s s - 19.2.1 - आश्विनं धूम्रमजं सारस्वतं मेषम् ऐन्द्रमृषभं वृष्णिं वा बाहस्पत्यम् । चतुर्थ सोमवामिन: ।

23. Ap s s - 19.10.8 - इन्द्राय व्योधसे पशुमालभेत ।

24. Ap s s - 20.1.1 - राजा सार्वमौमोऽश्वमेधेन यजेत । अप्यसार्वमौम: ।

25. T. Br. 3.9.3. - पर्यग्निकृता नारण्यान् उत्सृजन्ति अहिंसायै ।

26. Ap s s - 20.24.5 - पस्चशारदीय वदहानि (Cp 22.10.9 - 19)

27. Ap s s - 20.24.7 - दूयानै कसाशिनानुपाकृत्य पुरुषान् ब्रह्मणे ब्राह्मणमालभते इति -- -- पर्यग्निकृतान् उदीची नीत्वा उत्सृज्य आज्येन तद्देवता आहुतीर्हुत्वा – – – etc.

28. Ap s s - 20.25.10 - आश्वमेधिकं मध्यमं पस्चमम् अह: । तस्मिन् अश्वं मेध्यमालभते ।

29. Ap s s - 20.25.11 - पौरुषमेधिकं मध्यमं षष्ठम् । तस्मिन् पुरुशान् – – etc.

30. TS. 1.3.5.4.

31. TS. 1.3.5.4.

32. Sakuntalam 6.1

33. यदन्न: पुरुषो भवति तदन्नास्तस्य देवता: Ramayana II.95.31.

34. सेय्य त्थापि भिक्खवे दक्खो गोघातको वा गोघतकन्तेवासी वा गविं वधित्वा चातुम्महापथे बिलसो विभजित्वा निसिन्नो अस्स - (सत्रिपट्ठानसुत्त)।

35. डॉ. कोसंबी - भगवान् बुध्द - उत्तरार्ध पान ६३ - त्याकाळीं जसे यज्ञयागासाठीं तसे उदरनिर्वाहासाठी अनेक प्राणी मारले जात. गाईला मारुन तिचे मांस चव्हाटयावर विकण्याची प्रथा फार होती. परन्तु बुध्दाने जितका यज्ञयागांचा निषेध केला तितका या कृत्यांचा केलेला दिसून येन नाही -- चव्हाटयावर मांस विकण्याची पध्दति बुध्दाला पसन्त होती असे समजतां कामा नये।

36. हिंसायां यदि राग: स्यात् यज्ञ एव न चोदना - भा.११.२१.२९. हिंसाविहारा ह्यालब्धै: पशुभि: स्वसुखेच्छया। यजन्ते देवता यज्ञै: पितृभूतपतीन् खला: । भा. 11.21.30.

37. पशोर्वै प्रतिमा पुरोडाश: ।

38. MS.- एते वै पशव: यद् व्रीहयश्च यवाश्च यद् वीहिमय: पुरोडाशो भवति तेनैव पशुरालम्यते।

39. S Br. पशुर्वा एष आलम्यते यत् पुरोडाश: ।

40. Ait Br.2.9 - स वा एष पशुरेवालम्यते य: पुरोडाश: । तस्य यानि किंशारुणि तानि लोमानि। ये तुषा: सा त्वक्। ये फलीकरणा: तदसृक। यत् पिष्टं क्विन्तसा तन्मांसम्। यत् किंचित् सारं तदस्थि। सर्वेषां वा एष पशूनां मेधेन यजते य: पुरोडाशेन यजते। Cp also - पशवो वै पुरोडाशा: - in TS.7.1.9.1. T Br. 1.8.6.3.; Tardya Br. 21.10.10. etc.

41. Also आज्यं मज्ञा S Br. 12.9.1.11. Cp Ks 34.19. Cp पज्ञाव आज्यम् - MS 4.8.9, TS 1.6.3, Cp. Ap s s 14.7.13-15 - (in the context of a Pasu dedicated to Tvastr) तस्मिंस्त्वाष्ट्रं साण्डं लोभशं पिङ्गलं पशुमुपाकृत्य पर्यग्नि कृतमुत्सृज्य आज्येन शेषं समापयेत्। यावन्ति पशोरवदानानि स्यु: तावत्कृत्व: आज्यस्यावद्देत्। पशुधर्माज्यं भवति। Cp Rudradatta - तत्राज्यं पशुधर्मकं भवति। तत्प्रतिनिधित्वात्।

42. Anguttara - nikaya - Sattaka - nipata.

43. Prasna Up 4.3 - प्राणाग्नय एव उतास्मिन् पुरे जाग्रति । गार्हपत्यो वा एष अपान:, व्यानोऽन्वाहार्यपचन: । आहवनीय: प्राण: । मनो ह वाव यजमान: ।

44. Chan - Up.5.18.2 - तस्य ह वा एतस्य आत्मनो लोमानि बर्हि: हृदयं गार्हपत्यं मन: अन्वाहार्यपचन: आस्यमा हवनीयम्।

45. Jain Up. 4.26.15 - कर्म इति गार्हपत्य: शम इत्याहवनीय: दम इति अन्वाहार्यपचन: ।

Peace and the Four Sublime States

Mahesh Tiwary*

Peace, according to the Buddha, is the highest blissful state.[1] There is nothing more blissful than this. It is the most precious possession of human beings in their socio-moral spiritual pursuits. It is an internal phenomenon, a state of pure consciousness. It is said that "the consciousness is pure and pristine in its nature—but it is polluted by incoming defiling forces".[2] Being polluted in this way, it remains surrounded with variegated nature of tensions. We name it, in generic terms, that one is surrounded with suffering. In the situation like this, there is no peace at all. But, when the pollution is gradually removed, there is the gradual expression of the state of pure consciousness. In the moment of total removal of pollution, there is the survival of a completely pure consciousness. With the presence of such a consciousness, there is the dawn of peace.

How is it possible ? It is possible through the process of following the path of the Buddha. This includes the harbouring of some ideals and following the practices prescribed therein. The ideals preached by the Buddha are many. Similar are the practices. But the ideals and practices, more efficacious for generations of a pure consciousness and its manifestation into the dawn of peace, are the inculcation and development of the four sublime states. This we name the practice of *Brahma-Vihāra*.

The term *Brahma-Vihāra* is interpreted in many ways. It has two component parts, namely; *Brahma* and *Vihāra; Brahma* in general sense, means superior, excellent, noble, sublime, etc. *Vihāra* means living, dwelling, going on with four-fold activities of our day-to-day life as standing, sitting, lying down and moving. Thus *Brahma-Vihāra* in two ways, stands for a noble life. In traditional sense, it is used for a state of living with ecstatic joy. It has a technical sense too. It indicates a state of living, with complete awareness towards the body, feeling, consciousness, and the nature of *Dhamma*. Here, it has been used in a restricted technical sense. It refers to the sense of a way of living with four noble states. In this way, the term *Brahma-Vihāra* is indicative of a sublime way of living with four noble virtues. They are *Mettā* (Friendliness), *Karunā* (Compassion), *Muditā* (Joy) and *Upekkhā*

---

* Chief Editor, Vipassana Research Institute, Dhammagiri, Igatpuri, Nasik.

(Equanimity). These four states are inculcated, nourished, and developed in a balanced way so as to pervade and embrace the entire being like the soothing touch of the pleasant wind. There nothing remains untouched with these four states. How is it developed ? It should be done so through a practice known as *Brahma-Vihāra-Bhāvanā.*

This practice has some pre-requisites to attend to. They are the preparations of mind and initiations of efforts for this. As a wise farmer first prepares the ground and makes it workable by ploughing, adding water, manure, heat and such other things, before he sows the seeds, similarly, the cultivation of mind is essential by weeding out some of the polluting forces for the practice of *Brahma-Vihāra.* It is said that "he should be straight-forward, mild, humble, satisfied, a man of right speech and restrained senses. He should have a limited number of activities, develop the attitude of living nicely with limited facilities and even in unfavourable situations. There should be restrainment over physical, vocal and mental activities and curtailment of extra attachment towards families and belongings".[3] Putting a continuous restrainment as above, he should weed out the pollutions functioning as impediments and proceed to make the mind pliable and receptive for practising the *Brahma-Vihāra.*

How should it begin ? First of all one should know that these four sublime states-*Mettā, Karuṇā, Muditā* and *Upekkhā* are the natural gifts available to each person. They appear as moral psychic factors with a number of other similar states. But sometimes, they remain dormant due to blinding influence of immoral factors, or function actively due to presence of some moral psychic forces. Sometimes, they also remain bewildered due to the functioning of variegated resultants, moral or immoral. One should be conscious about the situation and identify them wisely. Then they should be made the object of mind and patiently exert to develop them. How ?

1. *Mettā* (Friendliness), It is a positive volition, moral in nature, for the well-being of others (*Parahitakāmatā*). The waves of friendly consciousness radiate in the way to transfer the self (*Sva*) to All (*Subba*). The radiation is so forceful that it embraces all beings as object. There remains none who is untouched with its soothing wave. Wherever the consciousness travels, there is the complete suffusion of friendliness over the being and there is none who is unamicable, unfriendly and undesirable. Thus it has been said that "he lets his mind pervade one quarter of the universe with thoughts of friendliness, and so the second and so the third and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide universe,

above, below, around and everywhere, does he continue to pervade with the thought of friendliness, far-reaching, grown great and beyond measure".[4] All the beings are its object - *"Sabbesu Mettā"*.

The practice of friendliness should begin from himself and gradually develop to others. It should proceed as "-Let myself be well, free from misery, free from enmity, without ill will, untroubled and well". Gradually it should be extended to family members, friends, relatives and embrace all. "Whatever beings there are, either moving or remaining in one place, either long or great, middle-sized or short, small or large, already born or seeking birth, living in lower planes of existence or in those of the higher ones or existing in the middle in the vacuum; may all be happy, may all be free from enmity, devoid of ill will and away from all kinds of disturbances. Let their way-faring be quite smooth and full of happiness".[5]

"As a mother protects her only son even at the cost of her life, so also let everyone cultivate a boundless friendly consciousness towards all beings".[6] Such infinite friendly consciousness should pervade the entire universe touching the beings existing above, below, or in the passages situated diagonally without any obstruction, without hatred and without enmity". One should dwell making all the directions filled in, saturated and touched with such a consciousness within and without. In the situation, there is the travelling of the waves of friendly consciousness from one individual to another and embracing the entire universe without any discrimination. The force of friendliness is so strong that it minimises and gradually uproots the feeling of ill-will and hatred - *"Mettam hi bhāvanam bhāvayato you byāpādo so pahiyissati"*.[7] All the beings of different temperament, different nature, become amicable, friendly and basically harmonised internally and externally. The boundary of a particular place, country or directions is broken and removed.[8] Everyone is within the soothing touch of friendliness. With such a powerful touch, there remains no enmity, no violence and no hatred at all.

All move with friendly consciousness and meaningful intense desire for the well-being of all. The text describes it as :

"Sabbe sattā ca pāṇāca, bhūtā jīvā ca pugguṭā,
Abyāpajjā tathāverā, Anīghā ca sukhedhino,
Vijjāsampatti-bhogehi, pavaḍḍhantu yasassino,
parivāra-balapattā, bhayopaddava-Vajjitā.
Sakhitā sukhasambhāsā, aññamaññavirodhino,
Modantu suhitā subba, mā kinici pāpamāgamā.[9]

Buddhaghosa, the commentator on the words of the Buddha, has presented a list of eleven merits of practising friendliness. They are both social

and spiritual, generative of a peaceful atmosphere. It is enumerated that the practitioner (1) sleeps happily, (2) awakes happily, (3) does not see bad dreams, (4) remains dear to men, (5) also remains dear to non-human beings, (6) is guarded by the divine beings, (7) is not harmed by fire, poison or sword, (8) concentrates his mind quickly, (9) becomes serene in complexion, (10) dies undeluded and (11) if he penetrates no further, is reborn in Brahamas heaven as though he were awake from sleep.[10]

Besides, friendliness has numerous benefits, mundane and supra-mundane, which may be seen through the texts.

2. *Karuṇā* (Compassion). Like the practice of friendliness, there is also the practice of compassion. It is a positive moral psychic factor which arises at the suffering of beings. All the beings under suffering are its subjects. It leaves none. There is no discrimination at all, related to its functioning in embracing the distressed beings.

Karuṇā may be interpreted by breaking it into two component parts namely, *kaṃ + runa*. *Kaṃ* means suffering. *Ruṇā* means entering into it and making right effort for its eradication. This *Karuṇā* is not mere verbal expression as mercy, kindness, pity etc. but it means entering into the core of suffering of others and exerting rightly for its eradication. It is the pious desire of removing bane and sorrow of others - *"ahita-dukkha-apanayana-kāmatā."*

The heart is moved to see the suffering and proceeds wisely to remove it. It is a positive suffering and proceeds wisely to remove it. It is a positive attitude to become one with the suffering and exerting rightly for its gradual minimisation, and consummating into its final uprooting- *"Paradukhha sati hadaya kamanaṃ, kināti va paradukkhaṃ, hiṃsati, vināsetiti attho."*

The range of *karuṇā* goes to the beings of the four planes of existence, namely; *apāyā-bhūmi, Kāmasagati-bhūmi, rūpa-bhūmi* and *arūpa-bhūmi.* The beings in distress, become its objects. There also it does not embrace the beings of the past or of the future. It remains concerned with the beings of the present state of existence. They may be friends, enemies and indifferent ones, irrespective of creed, caste and colour - *"Dukkhī janesu karuṇā"*.

The process of practice is similar to that of friendliness. There is only the difference of the object. In friendliness there is the *'All beings'* whereas in compassion *'the beings under suffering"*. It proceeds as "Whatever beings in suffering there are, big or small, long or short,

moving or remaining in one place, living far or near, seen or unseen, may be free from suffering, may be free from all kinds of ailments. There should not be the touch of fear, disturbance, misfortunes etc. Let there be a happy and fearless way-faring in their life".[11] Practising in this way, one develops the consciousness of compassion in the way to pervade it to all the directions and make them saturated with its soothing wavelets. This radiation should freely travel from one individual to another and turn into a positive effort for minimisation and finally uprooting the suffering of all kinds. The consummation of the practice becomes so powerful that it destroys the annoyance and hatred - *"Karuṇaaṃ bhāvanaṃ bhāvagyato, yā vihesā sā pahiyissati."*

There are the descriptive details of the practice of *Karuṇā* in the text *Nāmarūpa-pariccheda*. It begins with a number of questions and presents the happy and auspicious adumbrations of redemptions of suffering. The enquiry starts as - "Why should the beings tremble with fear ? Why are the disturbing forces creating an unpleasant situation with beings ? Why are beings seen in a state of helplessness ? Why are they forcefully driven to misfortune ? Why are they surrounded with fear just like a bird thrown in the fearful circle of wind ?

"Let their suffering of variegated nature be eradicated, agonies be destroyed, sinful activities be minimised, fear be reduced, pollutions and impediments be done away with. Let there be dawn of rays of hope of getting freedom from all kinds of unpleasantness etc."[12] With such a consciousness, one should extend the compassion so as to embrace all beings in suffering and exert for its eradication. All the annoyance be destroyed and the mind should be made receptive to grasp the various kinds of unagreeableness of others.[13]

3. *Muditā* (Joy). It literally means joy. In technical sense, it denotes 'unalloyed joy'. It is the name of a positive moral volition to experience unalloyed joy on the prosperity of others *(sukhitesu muditā)*. Finding a man healthy, educated, well-placed and progressing day by day, there develops jealousy towards him. This destroys the peace of mind. Here the *Muditā* replaces jealousy with joy. Finding a man in the state of establishment with happiness, one experiences unmixed pleasure and rejoices to see him more and more prosperous. It is just like a mother. As a mother finding his only child progressing well experiences a state of joyfulness towards him, similarly one with *Muditā* develops joy towards the persons in the state of happiness. Thus all the beings in happy state are its objects - *"sukhitesu muditā."*

The practice is just like *Mettā-Bhāvanā*. One develops the practice of feeling joy, goes on nourishing this sublime virtue and makes the entire directions saturated with it. Wherever there is a being in good state of existence, he is under the purview of such pervading. There remains joyfulness and no jealousy or aversion. There is the gradual minimisation and finally total destruction of jealousy. It is said, therefore, that *'Muditaṃ bhāvanaṃ bhāvayato yā arati sā pahīyissati.*

The practice of joy is further illustrated thus : "It is nice, it is pleasant that the beings in human world as well as in divine world are nicely rejoicing. How joyful it is that they have achieved the state of accomplishment of their cherished desires. The beings with their mirthful and soothing appearance, fulfilled wishes, surrounded with boundless thrill of pleasant sensation and bliss, may live long and have more and more rejoicement.[14]

The text proceeds as—

> *"Aho, sādhu, aho, sutthu, modanti vata pāṇino.*
> *Aho suladhaṃ sattānam, samiddhim abhipatthitaṃ.*
> *Sampanna-mukha-vaṇṇāca, paripuṇṇa-monoratha.*
> *Pīti-pāmojja-bahutā, ciraṃ, jivantanāmayā.*

N.P. 141.

4. *Upekkhā* - (Indifference) The world *upekkhā* is a multisignificant term. It expresses the senses of 'looking on', hedonic neutrality, indifference, zero point between joy and sorrow, equipoise, disinterestedness, equanimity, a feeling of neither pain nor pleasure' etc. In the present context, it denotes the senses of indifference, equanimity and a feeling of neither pleasure nor pain. It is a positive psychic factor, moral in nature, and functioning in many ways.

First of all, it proceeds towards ignorant people. There are persons, who due to their ignorance, do some wrong to the society. In the situation it should be understood that they are not at fault, but their wrong doing is due to their ignorance.

When it is removed, they will not act like that. Therefore, turning indifferent towards their ignorance, one should make right efforts for amending their mind. In this way, all the ignorant people are its object.

Indifference is also interpreted in another way. There are persons in the society who are very much engrossed in their duties. They should not be disturbed in their engagment. Therefore, giving an indifferent look towards such persons, one should experience pleasure on their immense absorption.

Further, life is the amalgam of a number of states. Pleasure and pain, gain and loss, fame and scandal, praise and criticism are the *Loka Dhammas*. Their association is a natural phenomenon. They come in association as a result of law of *kamma*. No one can avoid them. Therefore, one should not be affected with the associations of the agreeable or disagreeable ones. Rather, there should be the feeling of indifference towards their appearance in the process of life.[15]

Upekhhā further is understood as equanimity in the social order. There is disturbance in the society due to unbalanced thought process. "One is superior, the other is inferior, the third one is the middle man": such are the unbalanced considerations prevalent in the thought process. This disturbs the peace in society. Here *Upekkhā* generates the sense of considering all the beings as equal.[16] There is no distinction of high, low or middle ones. This minimises the tension and makes the social order joyful.

Upekkhā also proceeds in developing the feeling of experiencing neither pain nor pleasure on the appearance of situations like that. It remains ethically indifferent. One remains indifferent when there arises the agreeable or disagreeable feeling. Neither the agreeable feeling makes him overjoyed nor the disagreeable makes him depressed. He remains indifferent in all the situations.[17]

Like other sublime states, *Upekkhā* should also be developed so as to pervade the entire ignorant beings or the beings going on with the Law of *Kamma,* or the beings of variegated nature. It should proceed from his own self, friends, middle men and enemies without distinction.[18] Developing the virtue in this way, the functional aspects of the desire to expand extra covetuousness (*Visama-lobha*) and the strong sense of hatred are gradually reduced and finally uprooted —*"Yo paṭigho so pahiyissati"*.

The practice of the four sublime states goes on simultaneously, of course in different moments, of consciousness. They become the part of our being. There remains no moments when these virtues are not harbouring in mind and manifesting through the physical door, vocal door or mental door. Awareness at these doors is a constant fact.[19]

It is compared with the heart of a mother having four sons, e.g., a small baby, a sick child, a grown-up settled boy and a boy engaged seriously in his job. The feelings that she has for her four children are the manifestations of the four sublime states.[20]

These sublime states have individual as well as collective impact. Individually, friendliness destroys *Byāpāda* (ill will), compassion uproots

Vihesa (hatred or anoyance), joy reduces *Arati* (aversion), and indifference minimises *Paṭigha* (the functional attitude of harming etc). As collective effect, they weaken, reduce and destory the forces, functioning severely to create disturbance and tension in mind. With their destruction, there is the gradual emergence of serenity and peace. A number of other moral states like *Hiri* (feeling shame at the moment of doing someting immoral), *Otappa* (honour for the society), *Sati* (mindfulness), *Pīti* (a thrill of pleasant sensations), *Sukha* (composure saturated with mind and body) etc. appear as natural friends. They all together develop a mind where there is no tension at all but rather harmony and prevalence of peace.[21]

References

1. *Natthi Santiparam sukham* - K.N. (D.P.) 1, 36.
2. A.N. 1, 10.
3. K.N. 1, 290.
4. *So mettāsahagatena cesasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharitvā viharati, tathā dutiyaṃ, tathā tateyaṃ, tathā catuttham, iti udhamadho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbatthāya sabbāvantaṃ Lokam methasagagatena cetasā vipulena mahaggatena appamaṇena averena abyāpayjena vā viharati.* D.N. 1, 210.
5. *Ye keci pāṇabhutatthi tasā vā thāvarā vanavasesā. / Dīghā va ye mahantā vā, majjhimā rassakā anukathūlā. / Ditthā vā ye ca aditthā, ye ca dure vasanti avidure. / Bhutā vā sambhavesī vā, sabb sattā bhavantu sukhitattā.* K.N. 1, 290-91.
6. *Mātā yathā niyaṃ puttaṃ, āyusā eka puttamanurakkhe. / Evam pi sabbabhutesu, mānasaṃ bhāvaye apparimāṇa.* K.N. 1, 291.
7. M.N. 2, 104.
8. V.M. 209-211.
9. N.P. 138.
10. V.M. (Eng) 358-361.
11. V.M. 213-214.
12. N.P. 139-40.
13. *Aho sattā vimuccantu, dukkhdhammehi sabbathā. / Sādhu samentupāyāsā, soka ca paridevane. / Byāpāda ca vihāyantu, vinivattautupaddavā. / Byasanāni vinassantu, vigacchuntu vipattiyo. / Vihesā ca vighātā ca, khiyantu bhayabheravā, Patikkamantu Vissatthā, Sotthim Passantu Pānino.* N.P. 140.
14. N.P. 141.
15. *Sabhāvabhūtam lokassa, lābhalābhaṃ yasāgasaṃ.*
Niddā-passansaṃ passanto, dukha-dukkham ca kevalam.
Katakammassakattā-yām Lokonuparivattati.
Lokadhamme parābhūto, Attadheyya-vivajjito. N.P. 142.
16. *Hutavāmajjhattamānaso.* N.P. 142.

17. *Sukhitā hontu vā mā vā, dukkhā mucchantu vā na vā,*
Samiddhā vā daliddā vā, kā mamethha vicāraṇā. N.P. 143.

18. *Attani mitte majjhatte, verike ti catusvapi.*
Karonto sīmasambhedaṃ, sabhattha samāmanaso. N.P. 144.

19. *Tiṭṭham carraṃ visinaṃ vā,*
Sayāno vayavatassa vigatamiddho.
Evam satiṃ adhittheyya,
Brahmetaṃ vibāramidhamāhu. K.N. 1, 291.

20. *Mātā va dahare putte, gitane yobbanatthite,*
Sakiccapasute ceva, catudhā sampavattati. N.P. 134.

21. *Iccevam pana bhāvento, passannamukha mānaso,*
Sukhaṃ supati suttopi, pāpaṃ kiñci na passati. N.P. 143.

Image of Vairochana at Udayagiri (Orissa)

Debala Mitra*

Independent stone images of Vairochana in *bodhyangī-mudrā* or *bodhyagrī-mudrā*[1] are extremely rare in India. I have noticed so far only two stone images showing this *mudrā*. Originally hailing from Bodh-Gaya (District Gaya, Bihar), one of the images is now in the possession of the Birla Academy of Art and Culture, Calcutta.[2]

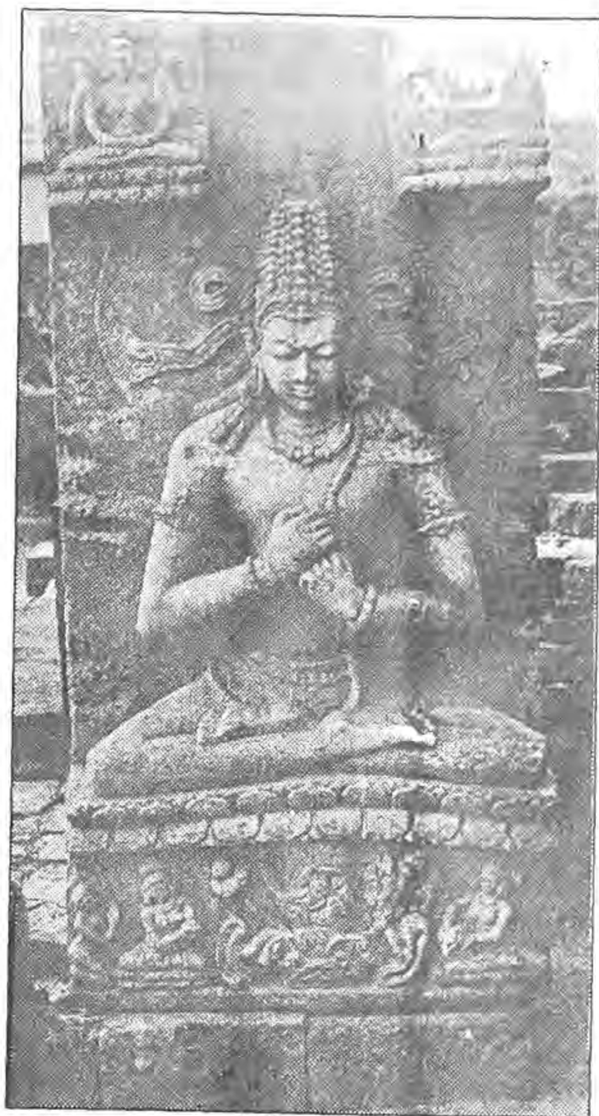
The second image (Pl. 1)[3] of Vairochana was seen by me in December 1992 in front of the left (dexter) door-jamb of the shrine-chamber of a monastery unearthed during the excavation of a mound at Udayagiri (District Jajpur, Orissa) by the Excavation Branch IV (located at Bhubaneswar) of the Archaeological Survey of India in the financial year 1986-87.[4] Fashioned out of an oblong khondalite slab, 136.5 cm. high and 70 cm. wide, this exquisite image is in an excellent state of preservation.

With half-closed meditative eyes, calm face, elongated earlobes, auspicious lines round the neck, a raised circular mark above the parting of eyebrows and a well-modelled tight body, the two-armed transcendent Tathāgata is seated straight in *vajra-paryankāsana* on a fully-blossomed double-petalled lotus with a foliated stem, from which have emanated small stalks culminating in a lotus, a bud and three lotus-leaves. He shows the *bodhyangī-mudrā* (or *bodhyagrī-mudrā)* with the raised forefinger of his left palm enclosed by the bent fingers of his right palm. The artist has succeeded in imparting to the comely face the self-absorbed introspective expression.

Behind his shoulders and head is a large plain halo, inscribed with the Buddhist creed in characters of the ninth century A.D.

Robed in an *antarvāsa* fastened by a tight-fitting girdle with a central piece in the shape of a four-petalled flower, Vairochana is adorned with thick *valayas* (one around each wrist), beaded armlets with a flower-shaped central projection, a long *upavīta* of several beaded strings having a barrel-shaped clasp with overlying and underlying rings, a thick necklace with chevron-pattern and a four-petalled flower as the central piece, *pushpa-kundalas* and a lavishly-carved high *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* with a four-petalled flower in the centre of its beaded baseband. The prominent

* Ex-Director, A.S.I., New Delhi.



Udaygiri

ends of the ribbon with a knotted loop are fluttering outwards. Some coiled locks of hair have fallen on the shoulders.

There are four bejewelled *devīs*, all seated in *vajra-paryaṅkāsana* on *viśva-padmas*, one each at the two top corners with a raised back-slab behind them and one each on either side of the foliated stem of the double-petalled lotus supporting Vairochana. Dressed in *śātis*, these two-armed goddesses are bejewelled each in *valayas* (one around each wrist), armlets, a beaded *hāra* and ear-ornaments. These four *devīs* are deified *pujopakaranas* (ritual objects for worship) and stand for Mālā

(or Pushpā), Dhūpā, Dipa and Gandhā. On the top dexter-corner is Mālā (or Pushpā), with a plain halo, bearing with her two palms the two ends of a garland with a spirally-rolled pattern. Dhūpā (on the corresponding top sinister-corner), also with a plain halo behind her shoulders and head, holds the curved stick or handle of an incenseburner containing the smoking frankincense. Both of them with a placid face, wear *kuṇḍalas* and a short beaded *mukuṭa* with a central ornate projection. Tied by a string, their hair is arrayed in a bun-shaped coiffure on the top of the head. On the sinister of the foliated stem is Gandhā, wearing ear-studs and carrying with her two palms a *gandhaśaṅkha* (conch-shell containing perfume, paste of fragrant sandal wood). Her hair is rolled on the left side of her head. On the dexter of the foliated stem is Dīpā holding a burning lamp. The bun-shaped coiffure of Dīpā, wearing a beaded *mukuṭa* and ear-studs, is arrayed on the crown of her head.

At the extreme dexter of the pedestal is a kneeling devotee or donor with folded palms. He appears to be a shaven-headed monk.

Notes and references

1. In this *mudrā* the raised upright index-finger of the left palm is clasped by the five fingers of the right palm of the deity. Marie-Therese de Mallmann noted this *mudrā* as *bodhygrī*; *Introduction a l'iconographie du tāntrisme bouddhique* (Paris, 1975), pp. 33 and 130 and P1.II, 8. In the 'Pañchākāra' section of the *Advayavajrasaṅgraha* the name of the *mudrā* is noted as *bodhyaṅgī*; cf. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Calcutta, 1958), p. 53.
2. *A Collector's dream*, Indian Art in the collections of Basant Kumar and Saraladevi Birla and the Birla Academy of Art and Culture, by Karl Khandalavala and Saryu Doshi, Marg Publications, 1987, p. 26, no. 2:21, also *Mārg*, Vol. XXXVIII, no. 3, p. 26 (Karl Khandalavala and Archana Roy, 'Sculpture',pp. 9-38). In their short description, Karl Khandalavala and Archana Roy identified the image with Vajrasattva, assigned it to the 13th/14th century A.D. and attributed to Nepal. Claudine Bautze-Picron was the first scholar not only in identifying the image correctly as Vairochana but also in tracing its original findspot at Bodh-Gaya on the basis of a drawing (no. 88) got prepared by Francis Buchanan (afterwards Buchanan Hamilton), now preserved in the India Office Library and Records, London; 'Identification d'images biharies reproduites dans la collection Buchanan Hamilton conservee a l' India Office Library and Records, Londres', *Berliner Indologische Studien*, Band 4/5, Reinbek, 1989, pp. 274 and 285 and dessin (drawing) 7 on p. 310. Later on, this image was described by me; Debala Mitra, 'An image of Vairochana in the collection of Birla Academy of Art and Culture, Calcutta', *Pratna-Samīkshā* (Journal of the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of West Bengal), Vol. I, 1992, pp. 179-181.
3. The copyright of the photograph belongs to the Archaeological Survey of India.
4. *Indian Archaeology 1986-87 — A Review*, New Delhi, 1992, p. 67 and Pls. XXIX B and XXX B.

Buddhism in Eastern India

Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta*

I

Although Buddhism lost its hold in the major parts of the land of its birth, it succeeded to maintain a longer lease of life in Eastern India, notably in British Bengal or the present-day West Bengal and Bangladesh, Bihar and Orissa. Among other States of the Indian Union where it entered in the late medieval period but underwent symbiotic changes after its assimilation of local faiths and customs are Arunachal Pradesh, Sikkim, Tripura and Mizoram. The Monpas and the Khamtis of Arunachal Pradesh and the Lepchas and the Bhutiyas of Sikkim profess the Tibeto-Bhutanese type of Buddhism,[1] while the Chakmas of Tripura and Mizoram have their Buddhism with a visibly non-Buddhist overtone (the Chakmas are, however, mainly concentrated in the neighbouring Chittagong Hill Tracts region of Bangladesh). Literary data and monumental remains testify to the existence of the religion of the Master in the Brahmaputra Valley in Assam in ancient period, but it is now virtually absent in this State.[2] As a living faith Buddhism is now encountered in Bangladesh and in the Indian States of Arunchal Pradesh, Sikkim, Tripura, Mizoram, West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

II

Like other world religions Buddhism witnessed in its long history many changes in respect of doctrine, ritual, iconography of deities and the mundane prosperity. As an organised religion it had its heyday during the reigns of two of its greatest patrons, Asoka (c. 272-36 B.C.) and Kanishka (c. 78-101 A.D.) and its present stature as a world religion owes much to their missionary efforts. By the end of the first century A.D. cleavage appeared among the Buddhists, the two main groups being known as Theravādins or Hinayānists and the Mahayānists. With its concept of Bodhisattva ('one having the essence of Buddha') that any one can attain Buddhahood by performing meritorious acts *(pāramitās)* and its liberalism in permitting the adherents to worship the Buddha in iconic form, Mahāyāna Buddhism soon became popular among the masses, moved much ahead of its opponent the Hīnayāna and was also intellectually strengthened by the insights of Nagarjuna

* Ex-Vice Chancellor, Kalyani University, West Bengal.

(second century A.D.), Aryadeva (third century A.D.), Asanga (fourth-fifth century A.D.) and Vasuvandhu (fourth-fifth century A.D).[3] The process of further development became apparent when Asanga supposedly introduced the Female Principle as a major strain of thought in his faith and paved the way for what later came to be known as Tantrayāṇa or Tantrik Buddhism and which pervaded the cultural life not only of Eastern India but also of the neighbouring countries where the religion of the Master gained a firm foothold. Buddhism in countries like Nepal, Tibet. China and Japan owes much to Tantrik Buddhism of Eastern India and even in Myanmar (Burma) where the Buddhism is of the Theravāda form but has a Tantrik overtone.

III

Stemming from the Mahāyāna, Tantrayāna Buddhism represents the last phase of Buddhism in India and considerably differs from the religion of Tathāgata. Based on esoteric elements like *mantras* (magic spells), *mudrās* (hand-poses) and *maṇḍalas* (mystic circles), Tantrayāna Buddhism (also called Mystic Buddhism) is the generic appellation for three *yānas* or systems, viz., Vajrayāna, Kālachakrayāna and Sahajayāna, although it is sometimes taken synonymous with Vajrayāna. It emerged in the eighth century and was in full bloom during the tenth-twelfth century time-bracket. It found a congenial home in Bengal and Bihar (ancient Gauda and Magadha) during the rule of the Paramasaugata monarchs of the Pala dynasty (eighth-twelfth century) and in Orissa (Utkala-Kaliṅga or Kaliṅga of olden days and Odivisa of the Tibetan Tāranātha) when it was under the aegis of the Bhauma-Kara kings (eighth-tenth century).

The close proximity between Tantrik Buddhism and Tantrik Hinduism led to a mutual interaction between these two major religions to a degree which was not seen before. In this process of interaction both of them absorbed many non-elite or folk-tribal elements and in terms of divine icons demonstrated a fascinating interplay of innovative ideas and ideations. Before we take up this aspect of Tantrik Buddhism let us make a few general observations about its form and nature.

Tantrayāna Buddhism is essentially affiliated with Tantrik Hinduism insofar as the destruction of all principles of dualism is concerned. Both conceive of the Absolute Being or the ultimate non-dual reality as the blend of the negative and the positive, the static and the dynamic, analogous to the blend of milk and water. But the difference between the two lies in the identification of the elements. In the conception of the Tantrik Buddhists the negative and the static is the female and named Prajñā, and the positive and the dynamic the male and designated

Upāya; the female Śakti ('energy', variantly known as Durgā, Pārvatī, Kālī) and the male Śiva of the Hindu Tantriks are conceptually reverse in order, that is, the former is positive and dynamic and the latter is negative and static. According to the Tantrik Buddhists the union of Prajñā and Upāya leads to the final state of non-duality, the Absolute Being, the state of Yuganaddha (the *yab-yum* posture of the male and female deities in Tibetan Buddhist art), which the Hindu Tantriks would like to call Maithuna or Samarasa. The stage of Yuganaddha results in Mahāsukha (supreme bliss), but it is different from the mundane sex-pleasure and it is in essence the stage of Nirvāṇa 'in which the self and the world around are lost in an all-pervading oneness'. It is here that Tantrik Buddhism differs from Mahayāna Buddhism : Prajñā and Upāya of the former are concrete female and male entities (occasionally conceived even as female and male organs), while the namesakes (also almost the same as Sūnyatā and Karuṇā) of the latter signifying respectively the 'Perfect Knowledge' and 'Universal Compassion', are abstract principles; and the Bodhichitta-Mahāsukha of the former implies a sexo-yogic process, in the latter a mental state in which the involved is resolute for the emancipation of all sentient beings.

Predictably Tantrayāna Buddhism centering on Bodhichitta-Mahāsukha of the Prajñopaya-sādhanā to be effected through esoteric sexo-yogic practices lays emphasis on the institution of Guru (Master). It is the Guru who teaches his Śishya (Pupil) these practices through a system of *mantras, mudrās, maṇḍalas* and similar adjuncts and in the course of time the teaching is done in a recondite language called Sandhyābhāshā (or Sandhabhāshā) with a view to protecting the purity of the relevant rites and practices. Besides this Guruvada was the belief in an elaborate pantheon of deities which constituted a major feature of Tantrayāna Buddhism. The ascetic devotee *(sādhaka)* solicited the favour of such deities for achieving his *siddhi* (goal), while a lay devotee, for material prosperity by uttering *sādhanas* (meditative prayers) devoted to them.

Tantrayāna Buddhism, as said above, is the generic name of three *yānas* or systems, viz. Vajrayāna, Kālachakrayāna and Sahajayāna. Or in other words, these are the three offshoots of Mahāyāna Buddhism in its last phase of development in which esoterism played a vital role. Of them Vajrayāna is sometimes taken synonymous with Tantrayāna and in view of the adequate importance of *mantras* Tantrayana is also occasionally called Mantrayāna. The leading school of Tantrik Buddhism, Vajrayāna has its key-element in *vajra* or adamant and aims at the realisation of the *vajra*-nature or the unchangeable void-nature of the self and all entities and this *vajra* is the same as Sūnyatā or 'Perfect Knowledge'.

Vajrasattva *(infra),* the Superme Lord in Vajrayāna, is the Ultimate Reality and symbolises the non-dual state of Sūnyatā and Karuṇā or Prajñā and Upāya. Incidentally, many gods and goddesses in the Vajrayāna pantheon have *vajra* as a part of their names (e.g., Vajravārāhī, Vajreśvarī, Vajravilāsinī).

Kālacakrayāna, as the name indicates, revolves round *Kāla* or Time and *Chakra* or cycle of world process metaphysically respectively standing for Prajñā (Sūnyata) and Upāya (Karuṇā); conceptually Lord Supreme Śri-Kālachakra is similar to Vajrasattva of Vajrayāna who is likewise to be worshipped through *mantras, maṇḍalas* etc. But Kālachakrayāna differs from Vajrayāna in two respects; in it the deities are more terrific in nature who almost invariably appear with their fiendish consorts *(Dākinīs)* and they are no less powerful than the celestial Buddhas; and secondly, in it the human body, conceived as the epitome of the universe, supposedly contains all the divisions of time *(kāla)* like moment, hour, day, night, week, fortnight, month and year. Worldly miseries, decay and death, are due to the whirl of Time, but they can be averted by controlling the vital wind which lies diffused over the nervous system of the body and causes Time with all its divisions through Yogic practices; in other words, through such practices the whirl of Time can be overcome and Bodhichitta can be obtained; expectedly astronomy and astrology have an important place in Kālacakrayāna. The last system, Sahajayāna, advocates that Reality and Appearance are born together *(sahaja),* Reality is split up into several opposites only by intellect, and the inseparableness of Reality and Appearance has to be comprehended by intuition. Being intuitive in its approach to Reality, Sahajayāna takes Man more as an emotional and intuitive than as an intellectual being, and hence it disfavours the idea of repressing sex impulses or inborn human propensities and speaks of their sublimation. It differs from the preceeding systems in a rather simplistic human approach and offers itself as a protest against their complex ritualism and elaborate pantheon. The pre-eminent position of Guru in Tantrik Buddhism is clear and articulate in this system. Further, the Sahajayāna gave rise to the vernacular literature in Bengal and some of the earliest poets in the Bengali language were members of the group of eighty-four Siddhāchāryas enumerated in the Indian and Tibetan traditions.[4]

IV

The prosperity of Tantrayāna Buddhism in Eastern India during 700-1200 A.D. is evidenced by sources of all sorts: epigraphical records, seals and sealings, architectural remains, scupltures and paintings,

literature, and myths and traditions. Its influence started wanting from the beginning of the thirteenth century and by its end it disintegrated and disappeared, although in some areas, as in the Puri-Bhubaneswar and the Baudh-Sonepur segments of Orissa, it lingered even in the sixteenth century.[5] And further, while in its own country it blended itself with folk-tribal faiths and life styles giving rise to some notable non-elite religious orders like the Vaishnava Sahajiyas, the Bauls and the Nathas, it struck root in lands outside India, as in Nepal and Tibet and in China and Japan.

Tantrayāna Buddhism was more concrete and earth-bound than its predecessors Hinayāna and Mahāyāna in its approach to life and thought and hence its appeal was immediate and universal. It received support in equal measure from the kings and the commonalty and a galaxy of intellects of the time laid its theoretical foundation. The Tibetan tradition recorded in the works of Tāranātha (born 1573 A.D.; work completed in 1608 A.D.) and Bu-ston (1290-1364 A.D.) combined with the Indian evidence, underlines the fact that the Tantrik Buddhist texts were avidly studied in the renowned monastic-cum-academic establishments like Nalanda and Vikramasila in Bihar and Ratnagiri in Orissa. And eminent teachers who taught these texts included Jñānapāda (the second Guru of King Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty and the first Vajrācharya or the spiritual head of Vikramasila), Jetari. Atiśa-Dipankara (alias Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna) and Abhayākaragupta during the ninth-twelfth centuries, the most distinugished being Dīpaṅkara. We are told that the Mahāvihāra of Ratnagiri was the first to receive the *Kālachakra-tantra* from a Tibetan scholar (name variously recorded in Tibetan works as Cheluka, Bitoba etc.) and that of Vikramasila was well-known also for Tantrik esoteric practices where as many as fifty-three monastic cells were reserved for this purpose. Tantrik Buddhism held a pre-eminent position also in other monastic-cum-academic centres like Odantapura or Odantapuri (located probably near the modern town of Bihar-Sharif in Bihar), Somapura or Somapuri (Paharpur in the Rajshahi district in Bangladesh), Jagaddala (in Varendri, probably in the Maldah district in West Bengal) and Pandita Vihara in Chittagong district, Bangladesh (exact location uncertain). Of the teachers associated with them Vibhūtichandra of the Jagaddala and Tilopāda or Tilopā of the Pandita Vihāra deserve special mention.[6]

Seals and sealings bearing the names of Nalanda and Somapura have come up in course of excavations and have thus helped to identify their sites and have been indicative of the flourishing state of Buddhism there, particularly when their evidence is combined with that of other

related antiquities. Likewise the large number of inscriptions of the Pāla kings of Bengal (eighth-twelfth century) bear an eloquent testimony to the fact that the members of these royal dynasties by personally professing and impliedly patronising it enormously helped Buddhism in having a longer lease of life in India before its virtual extinction here. But unfortunately their own inscriptions do not clearly state or indicate that the Buddhism they professed was of the Tantrik order. Prismatic light, however, comes from the Tibetan sources mainly and from other sources partly and impliedly. For example, Tāranātha says that Buddhajñānapāda, the preceptor of Dharmapāla was an adept in the rituals and teachings of the Tanrik works like the *Guhyasamāja* (one of the earliest of the kind, probably completed by the end of the seventh century), *Māyājāla, Mañjuśrīkrodha* and *Chandraguhyatilaka* impressed upon his disciple about the value and significance of such texts and the Pala monarch extended his full support to their study and teaching. He also arranged for reserving as many as fifty-three rooms for the practice of Tantrik rites and rituals while founding the Vikramsila Mahāvihāra and presumbably he did this on the advice of his preceptor. Atiśa Dīpaṇkara, the greatest celebrity of his time, was a Tantrik scholar and theologist and was held in highest esteem by the Pāla king Nayapāla (c. 1027-43 A.D.); his royal supporter appointed him the High-priest of Vikramaśīla around 1042 A.D., but in spite of his initial reluctance he left the institution and in compliance with the repeated requests of the Tibetan king Ye-ses-hod and his successor Chañ Chub, went to Tibet and after reforming the local religion founded the Lāmā order. Another great scholar of Tantrayāna Buddhism, Abhayakaragupta (c. 1084-1130 A.D.), was also greatly respected by the contemporary king Rāmapāla (c. 1072-1127 A.D.); Tāranātha states that the Pāla monarch first appointed him the head of the Vihāra of Vajrāsana (Bodh-gaya) and then entrusted him with the charge of both the Mahāvihāras of Nalanda and Vikramasila. While an idea of the form of Buddhism professed by the Pala rulers has to be made on the basis of records other than their own, an information of direct nature comes from an epigraphic;al document of a Buddhist king of the Comilla region of Bangladesh. Issued in the year 1141 Śakābda (i.e., 1220 A.D.) during the 17th regnal year of Raṇavankamalla Harikāladeva this inscription records a grant of land in favour of a Buddhist vihāra constructed at Pāṭṭikera (modern Patikara or Paitkara village near the Mainamati hills in Comilla) by Śrī Dhadideva, the Chief Minister of the said king; and he, presumably with others also, practised the Sahajadharma, apparently Sahajayāna Buddhism, and this happens to be the earliest unambiguous reference to the Sahajiyā cult. Imaginably the cult was not only confined to the high-ups of the time, it also found

favour with the commonalty; and after all, it was basically the cult of the non-elite section of contemporary Bengal.

Like the Pāla rulers of Bengal and Bihar the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa (eighth-tenth centuries, about 750-950 A.D., the initial year of the Bhauma-Kara era was probably 736 A.D., if S.N. Rajaguru's view is accepted) were devout Buddhists and some of them expressly called themselves as Paramopāsika, Paramatathāgata and Paramasaugata.[7] Though again like the Pāla kings they do not clearly state in their records that their Buddhism was of the Tantrik variety, collateral and circumstantial evidences point to that direction. The famed monastery of Ratnagiri in the Jajpur district, the antiquity of which has been pushed back on the strength of inscribed sealings[8] to the late Gupta period, largely developed under the aegis of different Bhauma-Kara monarchs and the abundant number of sculptural representations of the deities of the Vajrayāna-Tantrayāna pantheon (see below) found in course of excavations attest to the patronage of a group of rulers to the Tantrik Buddhist art and thought. The sculptural evidence is supported by a Tibetan tradition according to which a certain Tibetan teacher, variantly known as Cheluka and Bitoba, introduced the *Kālachakra-tantra,* the key text of Kālachakrayāna, to the Ratnagiri Mahāvihāra. And the *Pag Sam Jon Zang* (completed in 1747 A.D.) specifically mentiones Bhikshu Abadhutipā, Bodhiśrī and Naropā as adepts in the Kālachakra doctrine. The event seemingly occurred in the second half of the tenth century when Ratnagiri was in its palmy days. Even after the fall of the Buddhist Bhauma-Karas their religion did not suffer any setback, since their supplanters, the Śaiva Somavamsi kings, were catholic enough to allow Buddhism to flourish and even occasionally extended personal support to it. For instance, King Indraratha of this new dynasty is known to have granted a village to defray the cost of the ritualistic offering to a Vajrayāna goddess, Khadiravaṇī Tārā.[9] Buddhism in Orissa, as in post-Pāla Bengal and Bihar, fell on evil days with the coming of the Imperial Gangas to power in the second decade of the twelfth century and the testimony of the monumental remains of the following one hundred years or so suggest that its glory was a thing of the past. It lingered on, however, in some isolated pockets for about three centuries more, found a sympathetic patron in King Mukundadeva (1559-68 A.D.) but eventually failed to overcome its state of ennui.

V

Tantrayāna Buddhism is distinguished by an elaborate pantheon of deities. In the words of an ancient theorist: 'From the right perception of Sūnyatā comes *bīja,* from *bīja* is developed the conception of an icon and from

that conception comes the external representation of the icon.[10] The icono-plastic paradigm of Tantrayāna Buddhism is characterised by a hierarchy in respect of these deities.[11] At the apex of the group stands the divine pair, Ādi Buddha and Ādi Prajñā, the universal parents of Buddhism from whom originate the five Dhyānī Buddhas and as they are inactive, the act of creation is performed by their Bodhisattvas, each having his own Bodhisattva. Each of these Dhyānī Buddhas and Bodhisattvas has his own consort. Further, each of the Dhyānī Buddhas is regarded as a Kuleśa (lord of families) of several gods and goddesses and is associated with a Mānushi Buddha, who is a sort of agent of the corresponding Bodhisattva.[12] The pantheon also comprises a number of Brahmanical deities, evidently in the Buddhist setting, and excludes some old ones like Hāritī and Pāñchikā.

Icono-conceptually Ādi Buddha, the highest deity, is called Vajradhara and sometimes he is somewhat confusedly designated Vajrasattva the sixth Dhyānī Buddha or the priest of the five Dhyānī Buddhas.[13] As their names indicate, *vajra* (thunderbolt) is their chief attribute and they are represented either singly or in the close embrace of their *śaktis* or consorts, the pose being known as *yab-yum*. The five Dhyānī Buddhas are Amitābha, Akshobhya, Vairochana, Amoghasiddhi and Ratnasambhava and their respective consorts are Pāṇḍarā, Māmakī, Lochanā, Tārā and Vajradhātvīsvarī. The corresponding Bodhisattvas of these Dhyānī Buddhas are Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāni, Samantabhadra, Viśvapāni and Ratnapāṇi and their spouses are known by the generic name *śakti* or *prajñā*. As Dhyānī Buddha, Vajrasattva has a *śakti* known as Vajrasattvātmikā and his corresponding Bodhisattva is Ghantapāni. Besides the five aforesaid Bodhisattvas there are two more, Maitreya and Mañjuśrī; the former is the future Buddha and as a Bodhisattva he is presiding over the present *kalpa* or the cycle of existence, while the latter who is not unanimously affiliated to any of the five Dhyānī Buddhas, is generally sought to be assigned to either Amitābha or Akshobhya. Each of the Dhyānī Buddhas is identifiable by his characteristic *mudrā*, as for example Amitābha by his *samādhi* or *dhyāna mudrā* (in which the right hand is placed on the left on the lap) and Akshobhya by his *bhū-sparśa mudra* (earth touching pose of hand), and the Bodhisattvas by the figure of their parental Buddha on their crown, as for instance, Siddhaikavīra, a form of Bodhisattva Manjuśrī, bears on his crown the figure of Akshobhya (the attempt to relate him to Akshobhya is to be noted). The remark applies also to the figural representations of the Dhyānī Buddhas on the heads of their offsprings. In other words, the emanations of different Dhyānī Buddhas can be

identified with the help of the effigies of their spiritual sires borne by them on their heads. Sometimes a deity may appear in two lists of offsprings of the Dhyānī Buddhas. Jambhala and Vasudhārā, for example, appear simultaneously as the emanations of Akshobhya and Ratnasambhava. The identifications of these numerous gods and goddesses have been made possible with the help of their descriptions embedded in the Buddhist texts like the *Sādhanamālā* (a compendium of 312 *sādhanas* or texts of invocations, compiled before 1104 A.D., as one of its manuscripts is dated in the Newari era 224 and it is the most important aid to Buddhist, specially to Tantrik Buddhist iconography), *Nishpannayogāvalī* of Abhayakaragupta (it is particularly valuable for the study of Hindu deities in the Budhist setting, its section entitled 'Dharmadhātuvāgiśvara-maṇḍala being of notwworthy contextual significance), *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and the *Advayāvajrasamgraha* as well as many unpublished manuscripts (one such work *Dharmakoshasaṁgraha* by Amritānanda, the 19th-century Residency Pandit of Nepal, contains descriptions of deities of later days, that is, of the post-*Sādhanamālā* period and one of its manuscripts now lies in the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta).

Among the several emanations of the Dhyānī Buddhas the following may be mentioned and the popularity of some of them is indicated by their comparativity prolific depiction in the sculptures and paintings during the period under review. The emanations of Amitābha include male deities like Mahābala and Saptaśatīka Hayagrīva and goddesses like Kurukullā, Bhrikuṭī and Mahasitavatī, Heruka, Hevajra (when Heruka is in close embrace with his consort), Sambara, Jambhala and Yamāri are the male offsprings of Akshobhya, while Janguli, Ekajata, Vasudhara and Nairātmā are some notable female divinities who originate from him. Nāmasaṅgīti is the only male deity proceeding from Vairochana, whereas Mārichī and Chundā are the two distinguished goddesses who emanate from this Dhyānī Buddha; as said above, Jambhala and Vasudhārā figure in the lists of both Akshobhya and Ratnasambhava (probably originally they were tagged to Ratnasambhava, the Dhyānī Buddha of the Ratna (jewel) attribute, as they are themselves associated with riches) and other female emanations of this Dhyānī Buddha include Mahāpratisara and Aparājitā; the only male divinity who owes his origin to Amoghasiddhi is Vajrāmrita, and Mahāmayūrī and Parṇaśavarī are two well-known goddesses who emanate from him. That some of these deities existed before our period and beyond our geographical jurisdiction has been interestingly revealed by the repertory at Ellora (Maharashtra) which includes images of Jambhala and Chundā among others.

From the eighth century onwards the Tantrayāna pantheon was on its way of steady development and by the end of the tenth century it became full and square presumably by the efforts of teachers and theorists who were at work in different centres of learning, notably at Nalanda, Vikramasila and Ratnagiri. The iconographic formulae were clear and precise as indicated by the eleventh-century *Sādhanamālā* (assuming that it got its final shape about a century before the time of its earliest extant manuscript, *supra*) and images of divinities were carved and drawn in accordance with their descriptions embodied in relevant texts. Although the Tantrik Buddhist art reached its culmination during the tenth-twelfth centuries, the process of its making started earlier and if the Tibetan tradition is relied upon, Dhīman and Bitpālo (father and son), who flourished during the reigns of Dharmapāla (c. 775-807 A.D.) and Devapāla (c. 807-847 A.D.), contributed to its development and creditably initiated an 'Eastern Indian School of Paintings and Sculpture'. Excavations and explorations at monastic sites and elsewhere in the region under study have brought to light a large number of cult-icons and together with the illustrated manuscripts of sacred texts like the *Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* and the *Pañcharakshā,* they speak eloquently about the affluent condition of Buddhism during the eighth-twelfth century time-bracket.

The findspots of the art remains in question are spread over all the three States of the Indian Union, viz., West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and the neighbouring country of Bangladesh.[14] Outside the subcontinent China, Nepal and Tibet have yielded impressive materials deserving intensive study in the context of Tantrik Buddhist art of Eastern India and these include representations of many forms of divinities unknown in India (for example, the coloured paintings of as many as 108 different forms of Avalokiteśvara at the Machchandar Vahal at Simbhu in Nepal).[15] Imaginably monastic-academic establishments and countless adherents in India and abroad were in constant need of images of the Buddha and the deities of the Mahayāna and Tantrayāna pantheons and ateliers grew up in different places, the one at Nalanda being perhaps the best and the busiest in regard to the supply of cult-images. In addition to Nalanda, which was noted for its university and one or more workshops, there were Vikramasila and Odantapuri in Bihar, Jagaddala probably in the present Maldah region in West Bengal, Somapura (Paharpur, Rajshahi district), Vasibha (Bhasuvihara, Mahasthan, Bogra district), Pandita Vihar (Chittagong district) and Vikramapura (in Dhaka district) in Bangladesh, Lalitagiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri,[16] and Khadipada, Ayodhya, Khiching Surada and Buddhakhol in Orissa. Three noted sites which

have yielded hoards of bronzes are Kurkihar in Bihar, Achutrajpur in Orissa (these include some images of Brahmanical and Jain affiliations too) and Jhewari (Chittagong, district) in Bangladesh. Most of these iconic examples are on view in different museums in India and Bangladesh and also in museums abroad.[17] Illuminated manuscripts, some copied during the reigns of Mahīpāla I (c. 977-1027 A.D.), Nayapāla (c. 1027-43 A.D.) and Ramapāla (c. 1072-1127 A.D.), are preserved in institutional collections (for example, Cambridge University and Asiatic Society, Calcutta).

A perceptive overview of this rich corpus shows that Gautama Buddha and the stories of his life continued to be popular with the artists and their clientele. Numerous examples of the representations of the Master in sculptures exhibiting different *mudrās* (common is the *bhūsparśa*) are reported from all the sites, including the hoard-yielding ones. Incidents in his life find depiction both in sculptures and manuscript paintings, usually singly. Maitreya, the future Buddha as well as Bodhisattva, retained his former position of pre-eminence and appeared in the art of the period under review with his characteristic features, viz., *stūpa* on his crown, and the *varamudrā* (in a few instances *abhaya* and *dharmachakra*) and *nāgakeśara* flower. While the Dhyānī Buddhas lost their individual importance, they started appearing on the stelae of images, either single or in group, of their emanations thus providing a clue for recognition of the latter (sometimes a Dhyānī Buddha appears also on the crown of his offspring, and when they are figured collectively the central effigy becomes the parental Buddha of the emanation in question). A few images of Vajrasattva showing *vajra* (thunderbolt) and *vajra-ghantā* (bell marked with *vajra)* are reported from Nalanda, Orissa and Dhaka (Bangladesh). The two Bodhisattvas, Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara, seem to have dominated our period as indicated by numerous images illustrating their different forms. A careful scrutiny of these visual materials tends to show that Mañjuśrī, the god of learning and wisdom *(prajñā-jñāna-mūrti)*, with his character-cognisances like sword, manuscript and the *vyākhyāna* or *dharmachakrā-mudrā,* was worshipped mainly through his Mañjuvara and Siddhaikavīra; his other forms are Sthīrachakra and Arapachana, but in art they are rarely represented. Though an esteemed Bodhisattva, Mañjuśrī was seemingly superseded by Avalokiteśvara in respect of popularity in India and other Buddhist countries and this Bodhisattva together with his consort Tārā has since been widely worshipped. Endowed with numerous forms *(supra,* 108 forms of the Nepalese repertoire), Avalokiteśvara is depicted in art in varied forms, both non-Tantrik and Tantrik, though the non-Tantrik



Mahamayuri



Parṇaśavarī
Naynanda Dhaka district
c. 10th Century A.D.
Bangladesh National Museum
(formerly Dacca Museum)
Bangladesh



Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara
(Mulehan, Vikrampur)
c. 11th Century A.D.
Varendra Research Museum
Rajshahi, Bangladesh



Mañjuvara
(Talanda, Rajshahi district)
c. 11th Century A.D.
Varendra Research Museum
Rajshahi, Bangladesh



Marīchī
(Vikrampur, Dhaka)
c. 10th Century A.D.

Varendra Research Museum
Rajshahi, Bangladesh

forms were worshipped during this period in accordance with the Tantrik mode. Among his well-known forms are Lokanātha (of common occurrence), Nīlakantha, Siṁhanāda Lokeśvara, Khasarpaṇa Lokesvara and Shadāksharī, the last one being palpably Tantrik and symbolising the mystic mantra of six syllables *(shadākshara) om Manipadme hum.* The consort of Avalokiteśvara is Tārā, the universal Mother-goddess in the Buddhist world, and is therefore the most popular and esteemed goddess having her counterpart in the Hindu Durga and like her has several manifestations, such as Ekajātā, Jānguli, Kurukullā and Parṇaśavarī: some of her forms bear the original name and are designated Khadiravanī Tārā, Sītā Tārā, Śyāmā Tārā and the like. It is to be noted here that although Tārā is the śakti of Avalokiteśvara and this concept goes back to an earlier period, the Tantrik Buddhists additionally assigned her to the Dhyānī Buddha Amoghasiddhi and conceived her in different forms (e.g., Sītā Tārā and Śyāmā Tārā) as his consort. In any case, Tārā appears in the triple roles of a mother, protectress and saviouress and all these three aspects are rolled into one carrying the name Ashtamahābhaya Tārā and images showing her as saving her devotees from eight perils like fire, drowning, serpent and elephant, have been found in Bihar and Orissa; from the number of finds it appears that Khadiravanī Tārā was one of her major forms in Eastern India during the period under review.[18]

Among the emanations of the Dhyani Buddhas the notable ones like Heruka, Jambhala, Vasudhārā and Parṇaśavarī have been mentioned above and their popularity is attested to by their representations both in the sculptural and pictorial arts. The Tantrik character of many of these emanatory deities is articulate in their having mystic power to do good to their devotees or harm to their opponents; in other words, if propitiated they will bestow favour on them and if displeased, may give them troubles. Jambhala and Vasudhārā, for example, if propitiated, are capable of making their votaries rich, Parṇaśavarī can save them from diseases and epidemics and the less known Yamārī, a male offspring of Akshobhya, is helpful in subduing enemies and attracting and bewitching desirable persons. Many of these deities had one or more specific functions to perform for their votaries and the latter invokved and worshipped them through *mantras, dhāranīs* (collections of *mantras)* and a set of rituals. Together with them were the converted Brahmanical deities, Mahākāla, Ganapatī and Sarasvatī for instance, who used to receive homage from the Buddhists at least in Bengal (British Bengal) during the eleventh-twelfth centuries, as indicated by the *Nishpannayogāvalī* of the Bengalee pundit Abhayakaragupta. It is perhaps necessary to mention

here that specific texts centering on the concept, icon and mode of worship of some of these deities were composed during this period; and *Heruka* - and *Hevajra-Tantras, Cakrasamvara-sādhanā* and *Kurukullā-Kalpa* (many of them are still unpublished and their manuscripts are lying in the collections of the Asiatic Society and other institutions). Along with the earlier and well kinown works like the *Āryamañjuśrī-Mulakalpa, Guhyasamāja Tantra* and *Advayavajra-Saṁgraha,* these treatises help us to trace the growth and development of the Tantrayāna pantheon of divinities.

On the periphery of this pantheon stands a group of Brahmanical gods : Vishṇu, Śiva and Sūrya. As their images bear in each case a tiny figure of Amitābha on the crest of the concerned deity, they have been designated accordingly Vishṇu-Lokeśvara, Śiva-Lokeśvara and Sūrya-Lokeśvara and some scholars have discerned in them an attempt at syncretism between Buddhism and Brahmanism. Barring the doubtful provenance of the sole image of Sūrya-Lokeśvara (probably it comes from the border region of Bengal and Orissa), the rest is of the Bengal origin and thus these sculptural specimens have added a new dimension to Tantrayāna Buddhism. Datable to the eleventh-twelfth centuries, they appear to be the representations of some hitherto unknown forms of the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha.[19]

VI

A quantitative assessment of the sculptural and painted representations of Tantrayāna deities brings to relief the comparative preponderance of female divinities. And this is corroborated by the number and nature of the *sādhanas* devoted to them as well as by related textual materials. The increasing importance and popularity of goddesses among the Buddhists was on view since the time of Asanga, who supposedly introduced the Female Principle in the Buddhist system of thought. Tārā became the embodiment of this Female Principle and the consort of Avalokiteśvara and with the passage of time several proliferations of this central goddess appeared on the icono-conceptual scene representing her various aspects, but all aspects converging in the mother-cum-protectress aspect (cf. Parṇaśavarī protects her devotees from epidemics and Jāṅgulī from snake-bites). The other salient feature of Indian Tantrik Buddhism is the extreme rarity of the representations of the deities in *yuganaddha* or *yab-yum* form, which are prolific in Nepal and particularly in Tibet. Indian Tantrik Buddhist divinities were conceptually akin to the members of the Brahmanical and Jain pantheons, but differed from them in respect of the esoteric mode in which they were worshipped by their votaries.

A survey of the Tantrayāna pantheon will further reveal that in spite of an appreciably large number of iconic examples of these divinities so far found in the course of excavations and explorations (practically all are of Eastern Indian origin), many Tantrik gods and goddesses described in texts are unrepresented in Indian art and some of them are figured in the art of China, Nepal and Tibet. Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara and Hari-Hari-Hari-vāhanodbhava Lokeśvara, the two forms of Avalokiteśvara, find depiction in the art of Nepal,[20] the Vajrarāga form of Mañjuśrī and the Vajradhātu form of Vairochana among the bronze statuettes in a monastery in Peking in China and the rare Hevajra and Sambara (Heruka in *yab-yum)* gods both in the Tibetan and the aforesaid Chinese repertories.[21] An interesting instance has been furnished by a ninth-century epigraphical record from South Bihar : it mentions a deity named Trailokyavijayā, apparently the *śakti* of the Buddhist god Trailokyavijaya (an emanation of Akshobhya), figuring in the *Sādhanamālā* (see *sādhana* no. 262), but no image of this female deity has yet been found, and more, no *sādhana* has been devoted to her in this text; and therefore she seems to be a Brahamanical deity, although her name sounds like that of a Buddhist one.[22]

The undetermined affiliation of Trailokyavijayā and the Tantrik deities of non-Buddhist inspiration raises the issue of mutual interaction among the adherents of Buddhist and non-Buddhist cults in Eastern India during the period under consideration. A careful study of the *sādhanas* and their corresponding iconic renderings in respect of the Tantrik Buddhist divinities of the genre of Siṁhanāda Lokeśvara, Nīlakantha, Parṇaśavarī and Jāṅgulī reveals that there was an intermittent interaction between Buddhism, Brahmanism and Jainism and the give-and-take programme was particularly vigorously operative among the first two religions. The Buddhist goddess Tārā who was conceptually indebted to the older Brahmanical goddess Durga, was later Hinduised and given place under the same name in the paradigm of Daśamahāvidyās of the markedly Tantrik affiliation.[23] One of these Mahāvidyās is Chhinnamastā who drinks blood coming out of her severed head held in her left hand and icono-conceptually the Buddhist Vajra-yoginī happens to be the striking prototype of the former. Likewise one can trace the influence of the Buddhist Mahāchina Tārā on the popular Hindu goddess Kālī. However Tārā is not only connected with the Brahmanical pantheon, but also has her equivalent in the Jain Śasanadevatā called Sutārakā or Sutārā. Likewise, Siṁhanāda Lokeśvara and Nīlakantha represent Śiva in the Buddhist garb (Śiva is also known as Nīlakantha, 'blue-necked', for drinking poison at the time of churning of ocean according to the Brahmanical mythology)

as apparent from their Śaivite attributes like trident (of Simhanāda) skull-cup or *kapāla* (of Nīlakantha) and features like matted hair and the garment of tiger-skin (both of them). Similarly, Parṇaśavarī is reminiscent of *śavarīveśā* Pārvatī of the Brahmanical tradition and Jāṅgulī has her counterparts in the Brahmanical and Jaina pantheons respectively under the names Manasā and Padmāvatī. Sometimes the Buddhists directly observed the Brahmanical deities as exemplified by Mahākala, Ganapati and Sarasvatī of the *Nishpannayogāvalī* list. Vārāhi, one of the Saptamatrikās of the Bramanical pantheon, is another deity that deserves a special notice in this context. She appears prominently in the art of Orissa and also sometimes in the art of Bengal with a fish and a skull-cup but there is no Brahmanical text that answers to such icons of Vārāhī. It is the Buddhist *Nishpannayogāvalī* which comes to our help when it prescribes these objects as emblems of this Brahmanical deity. While these gods and goddesses clearly indicate a close nexus between the Hindus and Buddhists during our period (their harmonious co-existence is also apparent in the discovery of Achutrajpur, Kurkihar and other hoards which comprise images of deities of both the pantheons) and illustrate a spirit of assimilation and accommodation, evidence is by no means rare which shows feelings of jealousy and animosity on the part of the Buddhists towards the Brahmanical sectaries. The god Trailokyavijya (an emanation of Akshobhya) is said to trample Śiva and Pārvatī and the goddess Aparājitā (originates from Ratnasambhava) to trample Ganapati and images answering to these iconographic prescriptions have been met with. Even the compassionate Avalokiteśvara in his Hari-Hari-Hari-vāhanodbhava Lokeśvara form expresses a secretarian rancour; he is to ride on Vishṇu (Hari), the latter on Garuda (Hari) and the latter on a lion (Hari) and his representations are available in Nepal and China. The so-called Vishṇu-Lokeśvara, Śiva-Lokeśvara and Sūrya-Lokeśvara figures mentioned above betray feelings of superiority of Buddhist Avalokiteśvara to the Brahmanical deities in question.[24]

One word more about the Tantrik Buddhist divinities. Most of them are the outcome of the fusion of diverse elements stemming from a common source as well as the hieratic and non-hieratic stocks of motifs and ideations. Hints and indications to this effect can be noticed in the *Sādhanamālā*. Thus the *sādhanas* devoted to Parṇaśavarī describe her as a *piśhāchī* (ogress), and a *saṅgīti* (a sutra in verse from) in the *Sādhanamālā* states that Jāṅgulī is as old as the Buddha himself and the Master imported her secret and the *mantra* for her worship to his disciple Ānanda. More such instances can be given.

VII

Tantrikism is not a religion by itself. It is a system of thought aiming at the achievement of the Absolute Being or the ultimate non-dual reality by annihilating all principles of dualism. Both the Buddhist and Hindu Tantriks sought to achieve this through *mantras, maṇḍals* and the like and through a set of related ritualistic practices including the sexo-yogic. With an undated past it has grown and developed over the centuries by assimilating diverse and variegated elements stemming from elite and non-elite and indigenous and extraneous sources. And as most of these elements are earth-bound they have a universal appeal. Tantrikism was therefore capable of serving as a stimulus to the Buddhists and the Hindus alike and the line of demarcation between their areas of thought and creativity was often fluid and imperceptible. In spite of occasional conflicts over the question of relative superiority, Tantrik Buddhism was never involved in any direct and major quarrel with Tantrik Hindusim, or for that matter Hinduism. And hence it was ultimately able to turn Eastern India during the period, from the eighth to the twelfth centuries, into a compact culture-zone including Nepal and Tibet within it in the acculturation process and also sending its reverberations to Myanmar[25], China and Japan. Because of its appeal to the basic human instincts and because of its ability to tune itself to the collective psychology of the people of the given time and place, Buddhism in its Tantrayāna from won its last rear-guard battle and lengthened its life span in Eastern India.

Footnotes

1. The Buddhism of Sikkim (the nomenclature means 'new house' or 'happy house') proceeded from the fusion of Tibetan Buddhism and the indigenous pre-Buddhist faiths and customs of the people like the Lepchas. To its making, the contributions of the Bhutiyas who came from Bhutan and belong to the Rnying-mapa sect of Mahayāna Buddhism are noteworthy. The immigrants from Northern and Eastern Nepal, forming an important section of the population, are mainly Hindus, but they brought both Hindu and Buddhist deities.
2. Even in ancient period in Assam, Buddhism was not a major religion as one can guess from the testimony of the seventh-century Chinese pilgim, Yuan Chwang, who visited the land. Tantrik Buddhism made some headway in the tenth-eleventh century and this is supported by some Buddhist icons belonging to a hoard discovered at the Narakasur hills near the Guwahati town. These are the representations of Avalokiteśvara, Tārā and Chundā, the last one being a popular deity of Tantrik affiliation. Small in number, these images are datable to the tenth-eleventh century. For their illustrations, see H.K. Barpujari (ed.). *(The) Comprehensive History of Assam*, Guwahati, 1990, pls. figs. 63-66.

3. The two schools of Mahayāna philosophy are Mādhyamika and Yogāchara, the former founded by Nagarjuna and the latter by Asanga. The Yogāchara which centres on the practice of yoga (the art of the control of body and mind) proceeded from the teachings of Maitreya or Maitreyanātha, the preceptor of Asanga, but it was the latter who placed it on a solid theoretical foundation. Vasubandhu, the younger brother of Asanga, further perfected the Yogāchara system. In the eighth century both Mādhyamika and Yogāchara lost their vitality and a synthesis of the two was attempted by philosophers like Santarakshita (eighth century) and Kamalasīla (eighth century). From this Yogāchara-Mādhyamika system developed, as said above, Tantrayāna Buddhism. For a succint account of the evolution of Buddhism, particularly in the context of Bengal, or for that matter Eastern Indian Buddhism, see Gayatri Sen-Majumdar, *Buddhism in Ancient Bengal,* Calcutta, 1983, pp. 94-110.

4. The literature is represented by Charya songs and Dohas (Haraprasad Sastri discovered them in the Darbar Library of Nepal in 1907 and published them in 1916 under the title *'Hājār Bachharer Purāna Bāngalā Bhāshay Bauddha Gān O Dohā'* from the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta). Besides Sastri, Suniti Kumar Chattopadhyay, Muhammad Sahidullah, Prabodh Chandra Bagchi and others recognise the language of these literary-cum-philosophical pieces as Bengali. I am also of the same opinion. Claims for their being the earliest form of Bihari (Maithili) and Oriya have also been advanced from respective quarters. Authors of some of these songs and Dohas figure in the list of 84 Siddhāchāryas (Siddhāchārya means 'a master who has attained spiritual perfection').

5. From the *Sūnya-Saṃhitā* of the sixteenth-century poet Achyutananda Dasa it appears that Tantrik Buddhism in its degenerate form prevailed in areas like Bhubaneswar, Cuttack, Boudh and Sonepur and the poet did not hold any good opinion about the teachers connected with it. See N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa,* Utkal University, 1958, pp. 176ff.

6. For accounts of these Buddhist educational establishments, see the standard works including Gayatri Sen-Majumdar, *op. cit.*, N.K. Sahu. *op. cit.*, B.P. Sinha (ed.), *Comprehesive History of Bihar*, II, Patna, 1974 Debala Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, etc.

7. The capital of the Bhauma-Karas was Virajas or Virajā, modern Jajpur, which was also a noted centre of Brahmanical Śāktism. About the Bhauma-Kara era scholars are not unanimous. R.C. Majumdar places it in the middle of the eighth century *(History* and Culture of the Indian People, IV, 'Age of the Imperial Kanauj', pp. 67-68), while D.C. Sircar fixes its initial year at 831 A.D. *(Epigraphia Indica*, XXIX, pp. 191, 224). Rajaguru's view *(Orissa Historical Research Journal*, XII, 2, 1964, pp. 100-08) accords well with the Chinese tradition that in 795 A.D. the king of Wu-ch'a, presumably Odra of modern Orissa, sent an autographed manuscript to his contemporary emperor of China named Te-tsong; it was addressed to the latter who received it as his token of homage to him. The Orissan king was either Subhakara I or his father Sivakara I.

8. For these sealings, see Debala Mitra, *Ratnagiri.*

9. *Journal of the Asiatic Society,* VIII, 1966, pp. 271-76.

10. Advayavajra in the *Mahāsukhaprakāśa,* Gaekwad Oriental Series (henceforth GOS). XL, p. 50.

11. For a proper understanding of Tantrik Buddhist iconography *Indian Buddhist Iconography* (second edition, Calcutta, 1958, reprint, 1968, henceforth *IBI)* is an indispensable work. His 'Introductions' to the *Sādhanamālā* (two volumes, GOS, 28 and 41, 1925, 1928) and *Nisphannayogāvalī* (GOS, 109, 1949) need to be read along with the former. Other notable publications of Dr. Bhattacharyya are : *Two Vajrayāna Works* (GOS, 44, 1929), *Guhyasamāja Tantra* (GOS, 53, 1931) and *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism* (Oxford University Press, 1932 reprint, Varanasi, 1964). Sashibhusan Dasgupta's *Introduction to Tantric Buddhim* (Calcutta, 1950), *Some Obscure Religious Background of Bengali Literature* (second edition, Calcutta, 1969) and *Bauddhadharma O Charyāgīti* (in Bengali, Calcutta, 1371 Bangabda) furnish many relevant materials and fresh insights. In 1985 the Asiatic Society has brought out the *Kālachakra-Tantra-Rāja* with the commentary *Vimalaprabhā* edited by Biswanath Banerjee; but only the first of this three-volume edition containing the text has so far been published and the second and the third volumes comprising the commentary and the study on the Kālachakra system respectively were scheduled to be published as the edition assured in 1986. They have not yet been published and are eagerly awaited by us. This text, otherwise valuable, is not of any help in respect of Buddhist iconography.

    Brief but useful discussions on the subject will be found *interalia* in R.C. Majumdar (ed.)., *History and Culture of the Indian People,* III and IV (chapters by J.N. Banerjee) and R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *History of Bengal,* Dacca University, 1943 (chapter by J.N. Banerjee) and R.C. Majumdar and K.K. Dasgupta (ed.), *Comprehensive History of India,* III, 2, Delhi, 1982 (chapter by K.K. Dasgupta) and K.M. Srimali *ibid.*, IV, R.S. Sharma, (ed.), (in press, ch. by K.K. Dasgupta. Also to be seen N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa,* B.P. Sinha (ed.), *Comprehensive History of Bihar,* Debala Mitra's *Buddhist Monuments* (Calcutta, 1971), *Bronzes from Achutrajpur* (Delhi, 1978), *Ratnagiri* and P.L. Gupta's *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities* (Patna., 1965). An Asiatic Society publication, *Tantrayana Art - An Album* (1977) contains useful visual materials.

12. The Mānushi Buddhas, according to the Hinayāna conception, are twenty-four in number, but the well-known Buddhas are seven and are last in the list: Vipaśyin, Śikhi, Viśvabhū, Krakuchchhanda, Kanakamuni, Kasyapa and Śākyasiṁha (i.e., Gautam Buddha). See *IBI* pp. 76-77.

13. According to Alexander Soma-de Koros the concept of Adi Buddha emerged in the Nalanda Mahavihara in the tenth century. See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* II, 1957, pp. 57ff.

    As said above, confusion perhaps prevailed among the theorists, artists and votaries regarding the position of Vajrasattva in icono-conceptual

paradigm of the Buddhists. There appear to be three concepts: Adi Buddha's exoteric form and name is Vajradhara; Vajrasattva is the active form of Vajradhara; and Vajrasattva is the sixth Dhyani Buddha, and is also the priest of five Dhyani Buddhas. And all these concepts intersected each other in course of time. He is represented in Indian art with his characteristic cognisances, *vajra* and *vajra-ghantā* (bell marked by thunderbolt) singly, while his *yab-yum* form (in embrace with his *prajñā* Vajrasattvātmikā) finds depiction in the statuary of China and Tibet.

14. The Pilak-Jolaibari area of Tripura (Hill Tippera of the British days) has yielded Buddhist antiquities. Though quantitatively modest, the iconographic corpus is significant and includes, among other things, figures of Buddha, Avalokiteśvara and Chundā, which may be placed between the ninth and the eleventh centuries. Some inscribed Buddhist sealings have come from this region and they are now in the collection of the State Museum at Agartala. Chundā is under worship in a structure near Pilak as a Hindu goddess. The proximity of this area to the Comilla region of Bangladesh may account for the spread of Buddhism in Tripura and the occurrence of a figure of Chundā with eighteen hands in South Tripura recalls the depiction of the sixteen-armed form of the goddess in an illustrated manuscript of the *Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* dated 135 Newari era (1015 A.D.), now preserved in the Cambridge University Library (see *Tantrayāna Art*, fig. 246). For the Tripura finds, see *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, XVIII, 1976.

15. For these 108 forms of Avalokiteśvara, see *IBI*, pp. 394 ff and relevant illustrations.

16. The Lalitagiri-Udayagiri-Ratnagiri triangle witnessed a remarkable affluence of Buddhism during the period under review, and its beginnings go back to the Gupta period. Excavations at Laliltagiri have of late exposed three relic caskets of which two contain small pieces of bone, apparently of a Buddhist monk of eminence, in addition to iconic examples and the remains of an apsidal temple, presumably a Chaitya hall. I am thankful to my former pupil, Dr. Gopal Chauley, now the Superintending Archaeologist of the Bhubaneswar Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India for giving me an opportunity to visit the excavated sites and to have a look at the visual materials. Before the excavation here Lalitagiri together with Udayagiri and Ratnagiri yielded valuable objects including images of Buddhist divinities and the excavations at Ratnagiri have laid bare the ruins of the famous Ratnagiri Mahāvihāra (name known from a number of seals and sealings) of the days of yore and the results of these exacavations have been embodied in Debala Mitra's *Ratnagiri*.

17. Besides the site museums like those at Mainamati and Mahasthan in Bangladesh, and Nalanda and Bodhgaya (Bihar) and Ratnagiri and Baripada (Orissa) in India practically all the major museums here and abroad have images and related objects belonging to the Tantrayāna pantheon. These museums include Bangladesh National Museum (formerly Dacca-Museum) and Varendra Research Museum in Bangladesh; National Museum (Delhi),

Indian Museum, Patna Museum, State Museum of Orissa (Bhubaneswar) and Asutosh Museum of Calcutta University, Bharat Kala Bhavan of Benares, Hindu University in India and British Museum in London. The Asiatic Society, Bodleian Library of Oxford University and the library of Cambridge University have preserved some illustrated manuscripts of the Buddhist texts like ***Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*** and ***Pañcharakshā***. The Asiatic Society and the M.S. University at Baroda have many unpublished Buddhist manuscripts of the Tantrayāna affiliation. The Catalogues of these museums, for example ***Iconography of Buddhist*** and ***Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*** by N.K. Bhattasali (Dacca, 1929), and the ***Patna Museum Catalogue*** by P.L. Gupta, illustrate the images of the Tantrik Buddhist divinities. For more references, see fn. 11.

18. The eight great terrors or dangers from which Tara saves her devotees are enumerated in the Sragdharā-stotra composed by the eighth-century Kashmirian monk Sarvajñamitra, see ***Baudhha stotra-samgraha***, Calcutta, 1908. These perils are shipwreck, conflagration, enraged elephant, brigandage, pouncing lion, serpent, captivity and demon. An eleventh century Chalukyan epigraph describes this aspect of the goddess, see ***Indian Antiquary***, X, p. 185. For the illustration of ninth-century image of Ashṭamahabhāya Tārā, recovered from Ratnagiri and now in the Patna Museum, see Debala Mitra, ***Buddhist Monuments***, Photo 101.

19. For photographic reproductions of these Buddhist-Brahmanical gods, see Rakhaldas Banerji, ***Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture***, Calcutta, 1933, pls. XXXVIII a, LXVIIc and R.C. Majumdar (ed.), ***History of Bengal***, pl. I, 4 (for Vishnu-Lokesvara); R.C. Majumdar, ***ibid.***, pl. LXIV, 155 and J.N. Banerjee, ***Development of Hindu Iconography***, Calcutta, 1956, pl. XLVI, 4 (for Śiva-Lokeśvara) and Banerjea, ***ibid.***, pl. XLVIII, 3 (for Surya-Lokeśvara).

20. T.K. Biswas of the Bharat Kala Bhavan informs me that in their collection there are two bronze images and a ***thanga*** from Nepal which portray Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, while a Nepalese bronze of about the eighteenth century represents Hari-Hari-vāhonodbhava Lokeśvara. Both these deities were also depicted in the art of China, Japan, Java, Malay and Tibet.

21. The Chinese collection consisting of 787 images was brought to light by Stael Holstein in 1926. These bronzes together with a series of photographs from three Chinese manuscripts from the same repertory were intensively studied by Walter Eugene Clark, as seen from his invaluable two-tome ***Two Lamaistic Pantheons*** (Harvard, 1937). Bhattacharyya has reproduced some of these Chinese examples in his ***Indian Buddhist Iconography***. For Tibetan materials, see A.K. Gordon, ***(The) Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism***, New York, 1939. Alice Getty in her ***(The) Gods of Northern Buddhism*** (second edition, Oxford, 1928) has included the Japanese depictions of Tantrik Buddhist divinities, while D.N. Bakshi's ***Hindu Divinities in the Japanese Buddhist Pantheon*** (Calcutta, 1979) and ***Iconography of the Buddha Images in Japan*** (Calcutta, 1987) are important studies on Japanese materials.

22. The record, inscribed on the lintel of an old shrine, evidently of Trailokyavijaya, was recovered from Chandil in South Bihar. For this inscription, see ***Epigraphia Indica***, XXXVII, pp. 297-98. The ***Agni-Purāṇa*** (ed. by R.L. Mitra) contains a description of twenty-armed Trailokyavijaya (ch. 134) of terrific nature, but no image of such a deity of the Brahmanical affiliation has yet been found.

23. I adumbrated this thesis in the lead paper on the 'Iconography of Tārā' in a Calcutta University Seminar in 1965 which was later published in D.C. Sircar (ed.), ***(The) Śakti Cult and Tārā*** (Calcutta, 1967). In that paper I stressed the need of interpretative iconography with the help of multi-disciplinary studies in the context of the iconography of Tārā.

24. I dissent from the view of J.N. Banerjea *(op. cit.*, pp. 547 ff, 554 ff) that such iconic types illustrate 'syncretism between Brahmanical Hinduism and Buddhism'. In the context of an article on the solitary bronze image of Śiva-Lokeśvara from Barisal, Bangladesh and now in the Asutosh Museum I stated that 'its nomenclature ***Śiva-Lokeśvara*** and its inclusion in the category of syncretistic icons seem to be inapt and inaccurate'. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, 'An Image of so-called Śiva-Lokeśvara' in Kalyan Kumar Dsagupta (ed.), ***Buddhism: Early and Late Phases***, Calcutta, 1985, pp.103 ff.

25. The impact of Tantrikism on the Buddhist sect called Ari is tellingly betrayed by the physical relics, rites and rituals and traditions connected with it. The frescoes of the twelfth-century Paya-thon-zu and Nannamanna temples of the Aris at Min-nan-thu near Pagan are overly sexual in tone and character and some of these examples are too obscene to be reproduced or viewed. They are the tangible records reflecting the immoral practices of the vāmāchārī (left-handed) Hindu and the esoteric sexo-yogic Buddhist type which were prevailing among the members of this sect. In view of the relations between the Comilla region (old Pattikera) and Myanmar in the thirteenth century it is not unlikely that the Aris went to Pagan from East Bengal, or some of the Bengal immigrants to Pagan contributed to the development and nourishment of a sect already existing there. In spite of the opposition of the local monarchs from the time they managed to survive till the early nineteenth century. In the last phase of their history they were known as 'boxing monks'.

Relevance of Buddhism in Modern Times

Biswanath Banerjee*

Over two thousand five hundred years ago the Buddha, the perfectly enlightened One, the Great Teacher of mankind lived and worked in this world for the amelioration of the condition of the suffering humanity, and while we reflect on his words now, we are struck with wonder and grateful reverence to realise how much relevant are his words even in the present context of things !

The world today is torn into pieces and the warring nations are divided into groups hostile to each other. No ray of hope is discernible for the survival of mankind, rather a more horrible third world war seems to be staring us at the face ! Views on values of life have totally changed, there has been a total degeneration of human nature and moral values. In the midst of our consideration for personal gain and loss we fail to realise that the removal of wrong and evil by the observance of right and good can only help us to establish harmony in the society and create a world free from strifes. To achieve this it is necessary to cultivate loving friendship, feeling of equanimity, a compassionate mind inspired by a spirit of service to fellow beings etc. which have been so convincingly explained by the Buddha in his advice.

The Buddha's message for the well-being of the sentient world did not remain confined to ancient India alone but impressed upon a large number of people of Asia who found solace and peace in his words. To them the Buddha was not only Universal Love personified but also a symbol of Perfect Wisdom. They sought in him a shelter for their distressed mind and considered his teachings as the remedy for all the evils that could confront a worldly man ! The *Lalitavistara* addresses the Buddha as the king of Physicians to indicate the importance of his teachings in respect of the world of beings :

Cirāture jīvaloke kleśa-vyādhi-prapīdite
vaidyarāt tvam samutpannah sarva-vyādhi-pramocakah.

'In this world, long sick and suffering from the disease of passions, O You, the supreme physician, have appeared to cure all diseases'.

But what are the ailments and afflictions the Buddha as the physician is expected to remove and with what medicament ? The time of the

* Ex-Professor of Sanskrit, Viswabharati, Santiniketan, West Bengal.

Buddha's advent has been said to be the age of spiritual Quest *(esanā)* and we have to remember that Gautama took to the state of homelessness with the urge to find out the root of ills and evils causing suffering to mankind, and as a seeker of *truth* it was his *one* mission to indicate to the distressed and tormented humanity the path which would lead to make an end of sufferings. He discovered the four Noble Truths and pointed out ignorance at the root of all human evils. In this world of sin, suffering and impermanence he wandered for about forty years delivering his message of truth, love and non-violence. His teachings are no doubt religious in the true cannotation of expression, but at the same time they are ethical, philosophical and universal in character. He has explained the impure mental states and passions which afflict our minds and create conditions for us to fall in the cycle of birth and consequential sufferings in the *saṁsāra,* the whirlpool of existence. We are always under tension with the multiplicity of our expectations and non-fulfilment of desires. The best and the only way for the easing of our tension and healing of our diseases is to cast off egoism and purify the mind. He wanted men to be purified within by an internal bathing - *sināto antareṇa sinānena,* and not with the touch of holy waters. He has not favoured a negative avoidance of evil but has asked for the positive performance of good and inward cleansing :

sabbapāpassa akaraṇam kusalassa upasampadā,
sacittapariyodapanam etaṃ Buddhāna sāsanam.[1]

The discarding of all evil, the perfecting of noble deeds, the purifying of one's mind, - this is the teaching of the Buddhas.

It is again said that purity and impurity depend on oneself, none can purify another :

suddhi asuddhi paccattaṃ nāñño aññam visodhaye.[2]

The Teacher repeatedly instructed his disciples to follow practical methods to arrive at the Truth. Practice, not belief is the foundation of his teachings. He has pointed out that the highest seat of authority is the voice of the spirit in us and an individual is his own saviour without reference to any external force.

attā hi attano nātho ko hi nātho paro siyā![3]

He asks his followers to set themselves aright before they teach others :

attānam eva paṭhamaṃ patirūpe nivesaye
atha aññam anusāseyya na kilisseya paṇḍito.[4]

Let one first establish himself what is proper, then let him teach others. The wise man will not suffer (if he acts in this way).

He makes out that the hope of salvation lies in the regeneration of our nature. He advises to look into the acts of commission and omission of one's ownself and not to explore the unworthy actions of others :

na paresam vilomāni na paresam katākatam
attano va avekkheyya katāni ca akatāni ca.[5]

He points out that it is esay to find out the faults of others and there is a proneness to hide one's own faults from others :

sudassam vajjam aññesam attano pana duddasam
paresaṃ hi so vajjāni opunāti yathābhusam
attano pana chādeti kalim va kitavā saṭho.[6]

He was concerned with the *man* himself, his endeavour was to create the ideals of character, to raise the standard of human conduct and heighten the values of human life, efforts and experiences. He was not a religious reformer nor did he introduce any course of dogmas or phenomena in the form of religion in the maner it was understood in those days. Instead of presenting a set of doctrines or offering a creed to his followers the Buddha, as Radhakrishnan puts it,[7] 'wished to create a temper and a habit ! A most enlightened sentiment is expressed in his advice to his followers not to be moved with displeasure or swayed in anger if anyone speaks ill of him or finds faults with his words, because in that case they will not be able to judge the correctness or otherwise of such criticism. He has asked his followers not to resent a candid criticism by a friend and advised them to associate with friends who are virtuous and best of men.

bhajetha mitte kalyāne bhajetha purisuttame.[8]

He wanted his disciples to rebuild their lives on a foundation of reason and even advised not to accept his words without examining by logic and life. He has asked men to make the circumstances of life as perfect as possible. A noble character built up with a reflective mind is the greatest force in the world. Nothing can do harm to a man of character; passion, the root of all evils, cannot find an entry into a reflective mind. To him the world is not wicked but ignorant, it is unsatisfactory and not enjoyable. He has explained that our foolish desires make us unhappy. To win happiness one must make oneself 'a new heart and see with new eyes'.[9] He has held good conduct and nobility as higher than asceticism.

True to the spirit and ideal of India, the land of religious tolerance, there has not been even a semblance of intolerance in the words and attitude of the Buddha. On no occasion do we see the Buddha losing his temper and making any angry or uncharitable observation even to

a hostile critic. Sometimes we see him sitting by the side of the sacred fire of a Brahmin and giving a religious discourse without denouncing the latter's belief and worship. At some other time we hear him urging a new convert, the erstwhile Jaina believer Siha, to give food and gifts as before to the Jaina monks who might frequent his house. The Master is least concerned with a change of creed. Once we see him bitterly repulsed by a householder with most abusive words. With perfect expression of courtesy and friendly attitude he questions the man, 'Dear friend, if any householder sets food before a beggar and the beggar refuses to accept the food, to whom does the food then belong?' The man replies, 'Of course, to the householder'. The Lord remarks, 'Then if I refuse to acept your abuse and ill-will, it must return to you, but I must go away the poorer because I have lost a friend !'

The creation of an egalitarian society was never the aim of the Teacher; he wanted a radical cure of all tensions and unhappy situations to establish enduring peace and happiness for all. He exhorts his adherents to fill their hearts with the feeling of amity for all creatures and remove the evil propensities like hatred, enmity etc. He points out that enmity can never be ended by enmity, it can be ended only by amity :

na hi verena verāni sammantīdha kudācanam
averena ca sammanti esa dhammo sanantano.[10]

He has further explained that victory breeds hatred because the vanquished one remains in sorrow.-

jayaṃ veraṃ pasavati dukkhaṃ seti parajito....[11]

His message was something new for the age inasumuch as it held out the promise of happiness and eternal bliss without the belief in a personal god. He has discouraged all academic speculations about the beyond, and to him all doctrinal controversies are prejudicial to inward peace. What he treats as much important is the removal of ignorance, thirst and attachment by the comprehension of the four Noble Truths. He has explained that the phenomenal world has no real existence; it is to the ignorant and unreflective mind that certain causes and conditions make a thing appear to exist. He has brought out the metaphysical schemes of the origin and cessation of our sufferings and has prescribed the *Middle Path* and the comprehension of the Noble Truths as the medicament.

The whole of the Buddha's discipline as coming under the Path can be divided into three sections, viz., *sila, cītta* and *paññā,* - physical, mental and intellectual practices. In the ethical quest and philosophic achievement of Buddhism these three concepts have come to occupy a very significantly important role.

Sīla or physical practice is a comprehensive moral code comprising *sammā vācā* (right speech), *sammā kammanta* (right action) and *sammā ājīva* (right livelihood), i.e., the five most important elements of morality, - non-thieving, non-adultery, non-lying, non-taking of intoxicating drinks, non-follwing of an immoral means of livelihood. From sociological point of view these prohibitions are very significant. These relate to the physical discipline after which comes the mental training or *citta* that culminates in contemplation consisting of *sammā vāyāma* (right exertion), *samma sati* (right mindfulness) and *sammā samādhi* (right meditation). The mental discipline which is so vital in Buddhist ethics and philosophy does not imply only the concentration of mind. The third aspect is *paññā,* the intellectual discipline, denoted by *Sammā saṅkappa* (right determination) and *sammā diṭṭhi* (right views). In these three sections we get the eight great precepts in the formulae of the Noble Path. It is evident, however, that it is in the last section, the intellectual discipline, that Buddhism has offered its original ideas in the solution of the highest riddle of the universe. The other two disciplines are more or less in common with the various moral and intellectual or meditational practices prevalent in India at the time. In Buddhism the moral way of living culminates in philosophic wisdom.

The stress on *sammā diṭṭhi,* right views, indicates that ethical norms should be based on the realization of fundamental trusts. The urge for developing a virtuous mind in the world governed by the inescapable law of *dukkha* can be designated as the criterion of morality in Buddhism. The *Dhammapada* observes :

> *pare ca na vijananti 'mayam ettha yamāmase'*
> *ye ca tattha vijānanti tato sammanti medhagā.*

The ignorant is not aware that we must all come to an end here, but those who realise this, their quarrels cease at once by their knowledge.

Sammā saṅkappa, right aspirations or volitions is an important step prescribed by the Buddha in ennobling and purifying human intentions. The Buddha joined reason and volition with moral life. This is necessary for the growth of the feeling of kindness and benevolence towards all beings. It makes out that with our right aspirations and proper guidance we can make our world of living happier by removing our tensions and resolving international strifes.

Many of our feuds and tensions are generated by the use of harsh words and offensive language. Restraint over the use of language helps to establish peace and good-will and the Buddha has spoken of *sammā vācā* to be cultivated by refraining from the use of false, malicious or

abusive words of any type. It is a social virtue which wins one dignity and esteem in life.

Right actions or noble deeds are conducive to the welfare of others and are essential qualities for the formation of an ideal character. *Sammā kammanta* or actions which are noble and are of the right type indicate the *alobha, advesa* and *amoha* type of nature of the performer. This practice has a great beneficial aspect inasmuch as it relieves one of the misconduct pertaining to his daily works.

Right means of livelihood or *sammā ājīva* is essential for the making of a responsible social being. It fosters moral living and proposes to moralise our economic life which should eschew vulgar actions and profit-motivation at the cost of others. It has been observed that 'by deeds one becomes an outcast and by deeds does one become a brahmin'.[12]

A morally psychological training, *sammā vāyāmo* or right exertion, is intended to suppress and eradicate all evil or wrong states of mind. It helps to create, preserve and increase good thoughts and guards the mind against pollution by fresh evil thoughts.

A continuous process of mental training, *sammā sati* or right mindfulness helps to remove all cravings. With a strenuous and schematic practice one can so train the body and mind that no form of desire or defection can creep into the aspirant who builds up a strong moral character by becoming ardent, vigilant, quiet and self-possessed. With *sammā samādhi* or right contemplation is attained the culmination of the ethical process making the mind calm and serene. With this state of perfect concentration and equanimity the passions are subdued, perfect tranquillity created and self-realization achieved. Freed from all problems and tensions the aspirant wins real happiness.

In presenting the process of the eightfold Noble Path the Buddha has stressed upon the formation of a pleasant personality of determination with a formidably noble character who can render to the society service of great values. By bringing in morality and contemplative concentration together the Buddha has shown the way for the deepening of the sense of morality. It is the inner worth that counts most in Buddhism and the type of the integrated personality which the Path projects is of much necessity to the society for its well-being. It is true that the promulgated Path primarily concerns the community of Buddhist ascetics but the sociological values underlying the eight concepts as analysed cannot be lost sight of. The ethics or morality preached through the Path is action-oriented and dynamic in nasture. The Buddha has preached the Path not to remain confined to academic discussions but to help the cultivation

of benevolent will, moral striving, alertness in body and mind, and an earnest mind completely free from passion and any form of ill-will.

The other ethical process in Buddhism which when properly cultivated and attained can go a long way in easing and removing our earthly problems and tensions. The process known as the *Brahma-vihāra* consists of four ennobling categories which go in close relationship with the eightfold Noble Path. The ideal represented by the four categories is remarkable for its moral qualities and altruistic values. The four are known as *metta (maitrī), karuṇā, muditā* and *upekkhā (upekṣā),* and in Buddhism these are not ideas only but *bhāvanās* or form of meditation to be achieved by putting into practice. The highest type of altruism is expressed through these four concepts which when fully practised can make the society worth living.

These four categories have been explained also by the Sāṃkhya system but a difference between the two systems in this regard lies in the broadness of attitude, universality and a dynamic altruism advocated by Buddhism.

Metta i.e., *metta-bhāvanā,* the first of the *Brahma-vihāras,* is an important ethical concept having great social implication. It enjoins on a Buddha-follower to be always solicitous for the well-being and happiness of all creatures in the universe, known or unknown, born or yet to be born. *sabbe sattā bhavantu sukhitattā,* let all beings be happy, - has been set forth as the ideal for one practising this form of *bhāvanā.* But only the cultivation in mind of the wish for the good and happiness of all is not sufficient, the aspirant should intently work for the well-being of all creatures, high and low, with a heart overflowing with boundless love for all. This is ultimately related with the concept of *ahiṃsā,* and the cultivation and practice of these two categories generate an internal harmony, a fraternity which can be of beneficial consequences in this growingly industrialised impersonal modern civilisation.

Karuṇa-bhāvanā, the second in the process helps the cultivation of a feeling of universal compassion for all creatures including even a convict who is being led to the gallows. Not a passive compassionate feeling only but an active service for redressal is required for the practice of this *bhāvanā.* Man should be actively engaged in translating his feeling into action and cannot rest content till he has succoured the suffering world.

Muditā, the third *Brahma-vihāra,* is an important moral attitude which consists in the practice to have a feeling of joy at the happiness of others including enemies.

A feeling of equanimity is generated by the practice of *Upekkhā,* the last in the scheme of the *Brahma-vihāras.*

Properly put into practice these four ideals can play significant roles in the radical eradication of all disquieting sentiments existing in the world, and can be of great help to create a sense of fraternity and foster a feeling of solidarity among men of different climes and interests. Buddha's idea of ennobling and purifying the heart through love, amity and compassion along with his message of *anicca (anitya), anātta (anātma)* and *dukkha (duhkha)* holds out to the world the promise of deliverance from their troubles and miseries. By nature worldly beings are self-centred and desire or *(taṇhā-tṛṣṇā)* is the root cause of this self-centredness. The Buddha has pointed out this basic fact and has suggested remedies for the same. He has shown that virtue and wisdom purify each other[13] while the failure to grasp the principle of causation stands at the root of all the sufferings of the world.[14]

At this critical juncture of human history when mankind and the whole creation face annihilation owing to the gathering gloom of malice and hatred, passion and violence, distrust and jealousy, suspicion and hostility, perhaps the Buddha and his message can kindle the light of hope and deliverance for us, show us the correct way and help us in restoring love and amity, peace and friendship in our life and society. Perhaps at no time of human history was the message of the Buddha more relevant and necessary than it is today. Rabindranath has invoked[15] in his characteristic style a new descent of the Buddha in this world, mad with violence and ridden with intolerance :

> *nūtana taba janma lāgi kātara jata prāṇī*
> *kara trāna mahaprāna āṇa amṛta bāṇi*

'The whole creation is crying in earnestness for a new descent of yours, O you, the Great Soul, save us, bring in your nectar-like message.'

References

1. *Dhammapada* 183
2. *Dhammapada* 165
3. ibid 160
4. ibid 158
5. ibid 50; cf. 252
6. ibid 252
7. Radhakrishnan, *Dhammapada*-Introduction p.13
8. ibid 78
9. Radhakrishnan, *Dhammapada*-Introduction p. 13
10. ibid 5
11. ibid 201
12. cf. Brahmana-vagga in *Dhammapada*
13. cf. Sonadaṇḍa sutta
14. Mahānidāna sutta
15. *Rabindra Rachanavali*, Birth Centenary Edn., 4/128.

Some Buddhist Monumental Remains in the Vidyādharī Region in South Bengal
(Based on Field Investigation)

Nirmalendu Mukhopadhyay*

The river Vidyādharī branches off from the river Bhāgīrathī at Tribenī, about 52 km south of Calcutta, and flows down in a north-easterly direction in several branches and also with some of her tributaries to the Bay of Bengal after traversing a distance of about 120 km. This vast area watered by this river system was once a part of the ancient Sundarbans and contrary to popular belief and recorded history, this part of Gangetic lower Bengal bordering on the sea, was dotted with numerous cities and ports even in the pre-Christian and early Christian eras.[1]

The formation of this still active deltaic portion of the Lower Ganga Plain is a product of both alluvial and diluvial action; the soil of the region, clayey to sandy in texture, is mostly saline and alkaline and contains deposits enriched with Ca, Mg, and sometimes organic matter of half-decomposed nature. The average humidity of the region is normally high, the rainfall fairly widespread and the region is occasionally subjected to local depression and cyclonic disturbances due to convectional overturning of air. Deforestation being active for a long period in the northern part of the region, the natural vegetation of the southern part bordering on the sea is marked by the mangrove and tidal forests of the Sundarbans. Apart from enhancing the natural beauty of the landscape, this largest mangrove forest of the world provides environmental situation for the preservation of wildlife in the region.

The cultural sequences of the human habitation in this region can be gleaned from available materials of pre-historic and historic times such as neoliths, fragments of painted grey and N.B.P. wares, stylistic terracotta and stone sculptures of different phases of artistic development and traces of urbanisation at different levels of advancement down to the late medieval period.

A village to village survey in this region has led to the discovery of seventeen sites exposing Buddhist monumental remains. Some of these sites are discussed below :

* Professor, Jadavpur University, West Bengal.

Situated at a distance of about 10 km north-west of Habra railway station of North Suburban Section of Sealdah Division and 2 km. west of Jessore Road and about 1.5 km south of the river Jamuna, a tributary of the Vidyadhari, this newly discovered archaeological site of *Śimuliā* within the jurisdiction of P.S. Gāighāṭā in the district of North 24 Parganas, has recently created some sensation among the archaeologists and field investigators for an in-depth study of three big mounds - Mangalpota, Bhogapotā and Śivapotā - of the village. The unauthorised exposition of the mound of Maṅgalpotā simply for collecting old bricks by some villagers has brought to light the ruins of a massive structure almost similar to that of Khānā-Mihirer Dhipi at Berāchampā. The strong supposition that the exposed structure might be the remains of a Buddhist establishment is based on such structural features of the edifices like niches surmounted with Chaitya-window motif (Figure 1), the facing of the shrine towards north and some antiquities collected from the site. Incidentally the names of some of the neighbouring villages of Simultia are ended with the affix 'thuba', which distinctly points towards Buddhist origin of these place-names.

The ancient site of *Chandraketugarh* near Berachampa in the district of North 24 Parganas is situated on the dried-up bed of Vidyadhari at a distance of about 3 km. west of Haroa Road station of the north Suburban Branch of Sealdah Division. Covering an area of about 3 sq. km. of rolling mounds and a garh with rampart wall, Chandraketugarh represents an early historical urban settlement continuing down to later phases of history. During successive excavations[2] a stupendous brick temple complex facing north with long projections on three sides, a vestibule attached to the main shrine (Figure 2), remains of two votive stupas, and some significant antiquities like a red mottled sandstone Buddha image, plaques with Buddha[3] (Figure 3) and Jataka stories were discovered which associate the site with Buddhism.

Another important site rich in Buddhist monumental remains on the bank of the Vidyādharī is *Khās Bālāndā*. Situated at a distance of about 10 km. south-east of Berachampa in the same district, the place is marked with the ruins of an ancient religious establishment (probably of late Gupta or early Pala period) which was ultimately converted into a mosque, named Lal Masjid. This heavy stone-cum-brick structure (Fig. 4) has been identified by some scholars of repute with the Buddhist Vihara Balanda mentioned in a Nepalese manuscript.[4] Studied with several mounds, this site along with the neighbouring villages of *Dhara* and *Bhangor* has yielded some important antiquities related to a Buddhist establishment, which includes a magnificient standing image of Bodhisattva Manjusri[5] in black basalt of about 11th Century AD.

Some Buddhist Monumental Remains in the Vidyadhari Region South Bengal



Fig.1



Fig. 3



Fig. 2

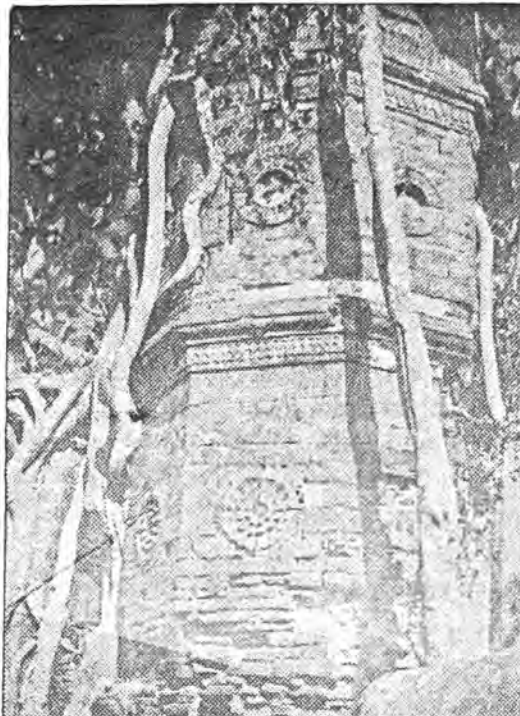


Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7

The village of *Sitakundu* with its numerous mounds, old ponds and underground massive brick structure of ancient days is situated at a place 5 km west of the river Vidyadhari and at about 2 km east of Baruipur Railway Junction on the South Suburban Branch of Sealdah division. In 1988 the Directorate of State Archaeology, West Bengal, carried on some trial digging in the principal mound of the village resulting in a partial exposition of a stupa like structure. In 1980 a fine-grained sandstone image of Buddha sitting on a lotus seat in *bhumisparsamudra* and bearing an inscription 'Ratnatraya Bauddha vihara bhikshu samgham' in c. 11th century character at the backside has been salvaged from an old tank in the village of Kayatpur,[6] adjacent to Sitakundu. Incidentally, the name of a Buddhist monument 'Ratnatraya-vahih'[7] figures prominently in the Sundarban copper plate of Dommanapala, dated 1118. Fragments of some stone image of Buddha and Buddhist deities, a big terracotta head of a Bodhisattva[8] (Figure 5), an inscribd terracotta sealing bearing the motif of Tree worship within an enclosure[9] (Figure 6) - all these signify the Buddhist heritage of the monumental remains of Sitakundu.

Situated on the northern bank of the river Nalua, a tributary of the Vidyādharī in the district of South 24 Parganas, *Baishata* is about 10 km south-east of Jaynagar-Majilpur Railway Station on the South Suburban branch of Sealdah Division. The huge twin mounds of Baishata-Mathavadi was identified by Renell in his map of deltaic Bengal as Pagoda in 1978-79. Recent trial digging conducted by the State Archaeology Department of West Bengal in these mounds has exposed a brick-built stupa foundation, a circumambulatory path around the main structure and other material remains pertaining to a Buddhist establishment. Some fragmentary images of Buddhist fold, a stone votive stupa[10] (Figure 7), a weather-beaten sandstone pillar bearing part of Buddhist *dhāranī-mantra* in proto-Bengali character are some of the chance finds collected from the mounds.

Buddhist monumental remains of conventional nature have been discovered also at *Dhosa* situated on the western bank of the river Piyalli, a branch of the Vidyadhari, at a distance of about 10 km from Gocharan Railway Station on the South Suburuban Branch of Sealdah Division. Random digging in the huge mound at the site by some villagers for collecting old bricks led to the discovery of a stupendous brick structure facing north with projections on four sides like a Christian cross. Antiquities collected from the exposed mound probably associate the site with Buddhism.

Further down stream towards north, the Vidyadhari with her branches and tributaries enters the core area of the Sundarbans. In Lot No. 157

at the confluence of the mainstream and the Netidhopani river, rolling mounds with underground heavy brick structures, due to river erosion and digging for a temporary habitat by fishermen, form an unusual feature of the landscape. The remains of a massive foundation work of a Buddhist stupa have been recently discovered here. Among the antiquities collected from the spot there are some fragments of sandstone Buddha images which definitely prove the Buddhist affiliation of the discovered edifices.

References

1. Ghosh, D.P. - *Studies in Museum and Museology in India, Calcutta,* 1968, p. 43.
2. Goswami, K.G. - 'Chandraketugarh and Its Archaeological Importance, *Indian Museum Bulletin,* I. 2. July, 1966.
3. Preserved in Chandraketugarh Samgrahasala, Berachampa, North 24 Parganas district, West Bengal.
4. Sastri, Haraprasad - *Bangiya Sahitya Parisat Patrika, 1321 B.S.* p. 292.
5. Preserved in Ashutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University.
6. *Satyayuga* (a defunct Bengali daily), June 18, 1980.
7. Sircar, D.C. 'Rakshaskhali (Sundarban) Plate, Saka 1118'. *Epigraphia Indica, XXX,* pp. 42 ff.
8. Preserved in the private collection of the present writer.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Preserved in the Pratnatattivk Kalidas Dutta Smriti Samgrahasala. Jaynagar - Majilpur, South 24 Parganas district, West Bengal.

Some Recently Discovered Buddhist Sculptures from the Lower Gangetic Valley

Sudipa Bandyopadhyay*

Some important specimens of Buddhist sculptural art have been discovered recently from different parts of the South 24 Parganas district (West Bengal) which once formed a part of the ancient north-west Sundarbans on the coast of the Bay of Bengal. Of these, a stone relief of Tārā and a metal image of Hāritī from Fartabad, a votive stūpa in stone from Baishata, a stone Buddha in relievo and a terracotta plaque depicting a seated Buddha with various architectural motifs, both from Kankandighi, merit the attention they richly deserve.

Situated at a distance of 3 kms. south-west of Garia Railway Station on the South Suburban branch of Sealdah Railway division and about 1.5 kms. east of the dried-up bed of the river Adi Ganga, Fartabad with some old ponds and underground structural remains is the findspot of a sculptural hoard consisting of Buddhist and Brahmanical images.[1] The twin mounds of Baishata - Mathabadi, adjacent to the small village of Ghoser Chak,[2] is located at a distance of 10 kms. east of Jaynagar-Majilpur Railway Station of the same division. Recent trial diggings in the mounds and explorations in the neighbouring localities prove beyond doubt the hoary antiquties of the site. Kankandighi, with its numerous mounds strewn with potsherds and other minor antiquities, a number of old ponds and structural remains, is situated on the east bank of the river Moni, opposite to Raidighi, a 'a visitors' gateway' to the Sundarbans and is about 15 kms. south-east of Mathurapur Railway Station of the same Railway division and 6 kms. west of Jatar Deul, a famous old temple of the ancient Sundarban region.

The portable fine-grained sandstone image of Tārā (12 x 10 cms) and a similar metal Hāritī (6 x 3 cms), now under worship as Lakshmi in the Sardarpara Kali Temple, belong to the sculptural board salvaged from a small old tank at Fartabad. The weather-beaten and partially mutilated image of Tara in relievo, with slighly pointed stele bears a stupa motif in the right upper corner; the goddess seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśva-padma* with her right foot placed on a separate full-blown lotus, holds a lotus-stalk in her left hand and exhibits *varadamudrā* in

* Research Scholar, Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

the right; she is bedecked with ear-lobes, necklace and tiara, and wears *śādi,* and her hair is arranged in a bun; she is unaccompanied by any attending deities. All these features are in accord with the *dhyāna* of Ārya-Tārā embedded in the *Sādhanamālā*.[3] Stylistically this image is datable to the post-Gupta period.

The metal image of two-armed Hāritī shows the deity as seated in *lalitāsana* on a round *viśva-padma* pedestal with beaded ends, and as holding in her left lap a child and a *vījapūraka* in the right hand. The goddess with round breasts, the prominent deep navel, is ornamented with *kīriṭamukuṭa, kaṇṭhahāra, vājuvandhas, kankaṇas, kaṭivandhanī* and *nupuras*. The oval stele with flame motif is supported by two wave-like struts seen in some early bronze images found in Bengal. The seventh-century Sarvānī image from Deulbadi in Comilla, Bangladesh[4] may be recalled in this connection. The image may be assigned to the seventh-eighth centuries A.D.

The three-tiered black basalt votive stūpa (ht. 16 cm., dia. of the base 14 cm.) from Baishata-Mathabadi, now preserved in the Pratnatattvik Kalidas Datta Smriti Samgrahasala of Jaynagar-Majilpur, with a plain flattened dome has four trefoiled niches with four seated Buddhas inside them. Generally, such a votive stupa with four niches contains images of any four of the five Dhyānī Buddhas.[5] But in this rare specimen of sculptural art only three of the five Dhyānī Buddhas, namely Amitābha in *dhyānamudrā,* Akshobhya in *bhūmisparśamudrā* and Vairochana in *dharmachakramudrā* are visible. Vairochana has been depicted twice in back to back niches opposite to each other. Interestingly enough, Amitabha holds an object which looks like a *vījapūraka* on his right palm. The remarkable similarity of the present image with a votive stūpa from Bodhgaya[6] in respect of the dome, tiers and niches tempts us to assign it to the ninth century to which the Bodhgaya example is dated. Although, it belongs to the same time-span, it can by no means be said that it came from Bodhgaya, nor can it be said definitely that it was modelled on the Bodhgaya votive stūpa.

The fourth object of our discussion depicts Buddha (10 x 7 cms.) in low-relief. Carved in stone, it has been discovered at Kankandighi and is now preserved in the Khadi-Chhatrabhog Samgrahasala of South 24 Parganas. It shows the Buddha seated in *vajraparyankāsana* on a *viśva-padma* with a lotus-stalk with leaves coming out from the pedestal and as exhibiting *samādhimudrā;* the figure is depicted within an arched frame which is supported by two pillars on both the sides. The Master has a parted coiled hair tufted at the top of the head, long ears, closed eyes, joined eye-brows with *ūrṇa* in the forehead, the last one being a



Fig. 1
Stone Tara from Fartabad
South 2 Parganas

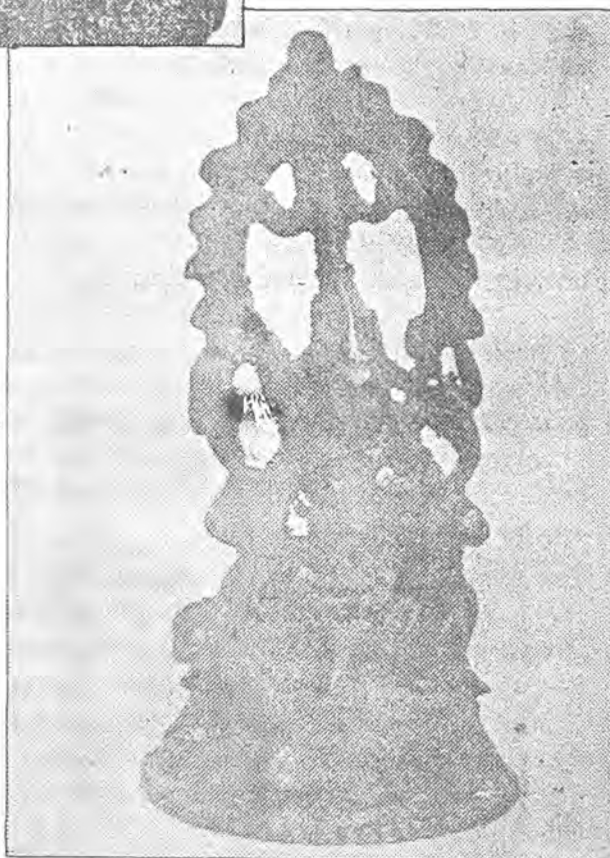


Fig. 2
Metal Hariti from Fartabad
South 24 Parganas



Stone Buddha from Kankandighi
South 24 Parganas



Stone Votive Stupa from Bāiśhāṭā
Maṭhabāg



Terracotta plaque from Kankandighi
South 24 Parganas

mahāpurushalakṣaṇa. The modelling of the figure and the psysiognomical features, and an almost round flattened stele of the image recall those of the post-Gupta images of the seventh-eighth centuries A.D. and our image belongs to the same time-span.

The deeply impressed and partially mutilated terracotta plaque (4.6 x 2.6 cms.) of Buddha within an arch supported by two pillars headed by abacuses from Kankandighi (now preserved in the Pratnatattvik Kalidas Datta Smriti Samgrahasala of Jaynagar - Majilpur) is surrounded by five rows of miniature stūpas on both sides with gradually declining upwards in numbers. The Master has joined eyebrows, open eyes, visible nipples, deep navel and has his hair arranged in a bun. His face is endowed with a folkish character. He displays the *bhūmisparśamudrā* in *vajraparyankāsana.* The stupa motifs borne by this sculptural example are stylistically close to their counterparts appearing on some of the Buddha figures from Ratnagiri, datable to the ninth-tenth centuries A.D.[7]

A number of portable Buddhist sculptures from the littoral Bengal, some of which have been brought to the notice of scholars in the present paper, testify to the existence of Buddhism as a significant faith in this part of Eastern India in the pe-Pala period. And the discovery of images like Tārā and Hāritī further shows the prominence of the late phase of Mahayana Buddhism in the seventh-eighth centuries in this region. The depiction of stūpa motifs in some of the sculptural specimens under review are in close resemblance with kindred objects found in other parts of Eastern India, especially in Bihar where the stupa motif was almost a recurrent feature in the Buddhist sculptural compositions. In Orissa, however, such motif was sparingly used.

References

1. Mukhopadhyay, N., 'Devītīrtha Borāl' (in Bengali), *Amṛta,* Calcutta, November 17, 1972.
2. Datta, K., 'Khādi Mandala' (in Bengali), *Bharatvarsha,* Calcutta, Ashwin, 1336 B.S.
3. Bhattacharya, B., *Indian Buddhist Iconography,* Calcutta, 2nd Edition, 1958, p. 307 and also see, Mitra, D., *Bronzes from Achutrajpur, Orissa,* Delhi, 1978, p. 101.
4. Banerji, R.D., *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture,* New Delhi, 1933, pl. Ic.
5. Derived from personal conversation with Dr. K.K. Dasgupta, Bageswari Professor of Indian Art, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta.
6. Bakshi, D.N., *Iconography of the Buddha Images in Japan,* Calcutta, 1987, p. 84, Fig. 40.
7. Sahu, N.K., *Buddhism in Orissa,* Utkal University, Orissa, 1958, p. 195, Fig. 31.

The Absolute in Buddhist Conception

Bodhipriya R.K. Sahoo*

Preamble

It is widely believed that there exists a Supreme Being, most feared and most venerated, named God. He is very much invisible, physically imperceptible to man. Still then, man is inspired with constant awe and reverence for God, a wonder of wonders.

This is not all. Those who implicitly believe in the existence and paramountcy of such an absolute Being—God are appreciated as Theists *(Āstikas);* and those who do not believe are branded as Atheists *(Nāstikas).* Buddhism *(Saddharma)* or Bauddha-dharma has ben tagged in several quarters to the latter category, which happens to be a taboo in the domain of institutional religions. This misunderstanding against Buddhism could happen chiefly due to intransigence on the part of antagonistic idolators, Brahmanical particularly, to whom the overwhelming popularity of Buddhism in bygone days because of its socialistic character was an eye-sore. The antagonists made a tirade against Buddhism which they misinterpreted and wilfully branded as a faith of Nāstikas. They assailed and assumed success by making Buddhism dormant on this score from the later half of 2nd century B.C. However, after the appearance of Acharya Nagarjuna and emergence of Śūnyavada in 1st/2nd century A.D., the spirit of Buddhism was resuscitated and its theological position elevated. It was expanded and transformed to a new cult called Mahāyāna wherein the element of divinity was introduced into the Dhamma.

Still much remained to be done. In the absence of a clear, categorical and simpler exposition of *Śūnyata* with its attributes, *Śūnya* remains more or less speculative, philosophic and of academic interest rather than of pragmatic value to inspire *Śhraddhā,* i.e. Bhakti, in common man. Hypotheses of obscure nature predominate those of clear *paramārtha* value, resulting in *Śūnya* being shrouded with abstruse and seemingly fallacious theories. Thus the sublime Śūnya which is very much with man, remains seemingly far away from the lay Buddhist and man at large.

An attempt has been made in this simple unostentatious article to present Śūnya or Śūnyavāda in its bare assimilable or intelligible form as conceived

* President, Bodhichakra, Puri, Orissa.

by the writer, a lay Buddhist through sheer intuition and vision rather than any scholarly exercise.

The Ground

Institutional religions as adopted by mankind may be categorised under four major religions, namely Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism—popularly known as world religions. Of the four, Hinduism originally known as Vedic Sanātana is the oldest one though last in the order of world religions. It is called Sanātana because of its tenets being supposed as eternal truth. Buddhism comes next in emergence followed by Christianity and Islam, each at a gap of about six hundred years. The original name of Buddhism, is *Saddharma,* meaning a faith of Sat and Satya. It is also named as Śuddha Sanātana meaning refined Sanātana.

Faith in an absolute being is conspicuous in Christianity, Islam and Hinduism whereas it is seemingly obscure a conception in Buddhism. This absolute or Supreme being is revered as God in Christianity, Allah in Islam and Parameśwar in Hinduism, popularly called Īshwar. Though honoured imperceptibly and impersonally as ŚŪNYA in Buddhism, He is not ostensibly worshipped. Thus it will be seen that the terms God, Allah, Īshwar and Śūnya are almost synonymous. So much so sublime is the Absolute Being that in Christianity, Jesus the founder is called the "Son of God"; in Islam, Mohammad the prophet is called the "Messiah of Allah": in Hinduism "Avatāra" and in Buddhism, a "Tathāgata". Buddhism does not believe in personal or *Sākāra* God. Its God the Śūnya is formless (*Nirākār*). He is revered as such. Gautama Buddha, the founder of Saddharma modestly declared himself as Tathāgata which means emanating from the absolute (Śūnya) and going back to this absolute as did the Buddhas of the past.

"Tat so āgata, tat so gata".

Śūnya as viewed in Buddhism

The meaning of Śūnya has to be determined first before proceeding further. Some authors have translated Śūnya as Void, Vacuity, Emptiness, Nothingness or Hollowness. These terms do not appear to be appropriate though they convey some loose literary meaning which may be said as *Samvrit satya* i.e. apparent truth, a means to acquire the absoloute or *Parmārtha* truth. Considering on the basis of *Paramārtha satya,* i.e. Absolute truth, Śūnya will mean Infinite *(Ananta),* Invisible *(Adrushya),* Inexplicable *(abyakta),* fullness *(purna),* limitless *(asīma)* and abstrusely absolute *(Param satya).* Nothingness does not mean no thingness. Śūnya has no visible existence nor is it physically perceptible, nor does it contain any physical body. It is not a phenomenon, but noumenon.

Then what — is Śūnya likened to the God or Īshvara of the Buddhist? *Śūnya can be defined as a fountain repository of unthinkable vast magnitude of all kinds of conceivable and inconceivable energy (Śakti) or power existing in the universe.* Śūnya pervades the whole of the universe including the core of the innermost cells of all living beings. As such it has no form, no shape and no size of definable magnitude; it is absolutely devoid of colour, smell and other physical attributes. It may be likened to a limitless cosmic ocean inside which all living beings including man live swimming just as fishes in the sea.

A most appropriate epithet of Śūnya is *VAJRA*. *Vajra* means Adamantine i.e. *Sanātana (ad infinitum)* which exists for ever being indestructible. It is said thus in the scripture;

"Druddam Sāram asoushoyam, achhedya vedya lakshaṇam, Adāhi, avināshocha, Śūnyata Vajramuchyate". (Adamant, essence of essences, indefinable, indivisible, impenetrable, unburnable, imperishable is Śūnyatā, otherwise called *VAJRA).*

Attributes of fundamental energy, i.e. *Śakti* conform to the characters described above. To cite an example, take the case of electric energy. One can see or handle electrical gadgets, even electric current but never the electric energy. In short, the philosophy of *Śūnyatā* is a science of sciences - the *Prajñāna.*

Energy Categorised

Some of the known energy which emanate from the *garbha* or core of *Śūnya* are cosmic, ethereal, transcendental, solar, aerial, thermal, hydraulic, gaseous, chemical, physical, global, electrical, magnetic, atomic or nuclear and mechanical energy etc. etc. Each type of energy originates from Śūnya, plays its distinct role and thereafter merges into *Śūnya* - all a flux of power or cycle of energy and manifestation of life *(Prāṇa).*

Each phenomenon we witness on earth is a mere manifestation of the potential power of Śūnya, operating through specified energy or energies. To cite an example, a glowing electric bulb. The minus electric current is a dead object, good for nothing, without utility. The energy when provided through electric current makes the bulb glow with life - a distinct phenomenon. Here the lighted electric bulb is treated as a worldly manifestation of Śūnya inasmuch as the electric energy lighting the bulb has originated from Śūnya and passed through the medium of a current.

Similar is the case with a steam engine, electric train, wind-mill, hydraulic pump, fan, nuclear bomb, all kinds of machines, aeroplane, motor-car,

bicycle, train, motor cycle, etc. etc. wherein an invisible energy or power (*Śakti*) plays the vital role to activate them, or in other words, to give them functional life.

Finally the case of living beings including man, or in other words, flora and fauna of the world. Since all these beings are of biological category, energy arising out of earth, water, air and sun (heat) are essential for their body up-keep coupled with cosmic energy for their sustained life. Over and above, man who is the supreme specimen of living beings has been endowed with transcendental, otherwise called spiritual energy so as to be worthy of his endowments. Each and every somatic cell of the living beings bears the imprint of Śūnya which the modern scientists name as Vacuola. In absence of vacuola, cell disintegrates. Man, animal and vegetation are considered to be living as long as energy collected from Śūnya is present in the body; and declared dead as soon as that energy in totality leaves the body. Therefore Śūnya is LIFE itself.

Thus it will be seen that the Śūnya of the Buddhist is omnipresent, and omnipotent in the like manner of *paramātman Parameśwar* of Vedantic concept. It may be said without exaggeration that the animal kingdom is submerged in the vast body of Śūnya just as the aquatics inside the ocean. Thus Śūnya, the God of the Buddhist, is very much with man, within, without and above. In short, Śūnyavāda is Madhymika or the compromising *Madhyampatha* between Nāstikavāda and gross Sākāravada.

Sunya Vs. God

However, there is one distinguishing feature between Śūnya and Īshvara (*Parambrahma Parameśwar*). Īshvara of the Hindus, God of the Christians and Āllāh of the Muslims are regarded as the creator of the universe including all living beings and the phenomena it contains. But Śūnya is not regarded as a creator but a benevolent life-giver or life in itself. According to Buddhist conception all natural phenomena, such as planets, rivers, mountains, seas etc. are created out of geo-physical evolutions whereas the animal and vegetable kingdoms are created through biological evolution. Modern science also says so. Śūnya is the life force, the bio-kinetic energy within the living beings. It is the noumenon phenomenised through the media of living beings, besides earth, water, air, electricity, chemicals, minerals, mineral oils and gases, fire, etc. etc.

In brief, SUNYA is the *Paramā Śakti,* the absolute energy or power. The component energies arising *en mass* out of *Mahā dhātus* like earth, water, air, sun and ether are each a *Mahā Śakti*. Energies generated

artificially from electricity, magnetism, chemicals and gases, etc. are each an *Upaśakti*. Each phenomenal exhibition of *Śakti* through the medium of man, animal, plant, light, automobiles, fan, motor, steam engine, etc. is an *Anu-Śakti*. Thus the aforesaid *Maha Śakti, Upaśakti* and *Anu-Śakti* are only different in origin and magnitude from each other but of the same strain and substance having emanated from Sunya, the Parama Sakti. It teaches us the lesson that all living beings carry the same strain of life and hence worthy of love and compassion of Man. Such is the view held out by the Buddha. Thus he expressed in His Sutras and nikayas. *"Ye Kechi Pana bhutatthi, tasa bā thabara bā anabaśesa, Dīgha bā ye mahanta bā majjhima rasakanuka thūla, Dittha bā yeba adittha yecha dure basanti abidure, Bhuta ba Sambhabesi bā Sabbesattā bhavantu Sukhitattā* (Metta Sutta). (Whatever living beings there be vegetation or animal, tall, small or medium, tiny or massive, visible or invisible, far-living or near-living, born or in utero, let all be happy.)

Attributes of Śūnya in Relation to Man

The foetus implants itself in the womb of the mother. The womb nourishes the foetus to grow up to its full term protecting against hazards. But the womb itself has not created the foetus. Fishes live and grow in the sea although the sea is not the creator of fish. Likewise, Sunya, though not the creator, enlivens, protects, nourishes and controls man regulating the actions of man in right channel. Sunya acts like a super-computor, catalyst in this direction proving itself an omniscient power. A question arises as to whether ŚŪNYA has life and consciousness. Certainly yes. The *Satta* which enlivens all living beings surely possesses life and consciousness of highest magnitude, of superb value and inconceivable penetration.

Modus Operandi

Having no physical or visible existence to take part directly in the affairs of man, Śūnya in his capacity as *Mahipati* i.e. supernatural supreme head of the globe, has dispensed a constitution voiced through his earthly emanation, the Buddha for guidance and administration of his subjects, the mankind. This constitution is named Dependent Origination. It is also called Dependent Co-production, *Pratīya Samutpāda* or Hetuvada. According to the dictates of this constitution, every event, incident, accident or occurrence in the world happening including births and deaths has a cause, immediate or remote. And also every action produces an effect, sooner or later. So man cannot escape the result of his *Karma*

i.e. deed, good or bad. The impact of such action or deed and the fruition or result thereof is being unceasingly woven around in the wheels of *Karama* (destiny) and *Bhaba* (birth) by the supernatural computer of Sunya so as to deliver the effect i.e. product of *Karma* (deed) to man in appropriate time. The philosophy of Hetuvada postulates that Destiny *(Karama)* is a product of Deed *(Karma)* performed in previous life and not vice versa. Man's birth to any particular race, class, family and his personality, talent and vigour are predetermined by such karmic Destiny. None can escape the resultant effect of one's deed even after rigorous penance or prayers which may at best produce a new chain of wholesome merit. *"Yādśam bapate bījam, tādsam harate phalam; Kalyānakarī Kalyānam, Pāpakarīcha pāpakam"*, says the Buddha, a keynote of this unique spiritual code. This constitution lays down fundamental principles for cessation of sorrow and suffering as the main concern of man here and hereafter. *Pratīya samutpāda* postulates that the life-cycle of man is influenced by twelve links or factors in succession, one giving rise to the next or one ceasing by the cessation of the preceding one, ultimately stimulating either rebirth or salvation. These twelve links *(nidanas)* are : ignorance or illusion *(Avidyā)*, volition *(Saṁskār)*, consciousness *(Vijñāna)*, birth with name and form *(Nāmarūpa)*, six sensebases *(Ṣaḍāyatana)*, cohesion *(Sparśa)*, feelings or sensation *(Vedanā)*, craving *(Tahnā* or *Trishnā)*, passion or infatuation *(Upadāna)*, flux or seed of birth *(Bhāva)*, rebirth *(Jati)* and sorrow suffering *(Duḥkha)* coupled again with ignorance. Thus this constitution of Sunya is autonomous or self-generating in character.

Constitution is a code of conduct for the people whereas conduct or way of life is the applied part of constitution. In order to live happily in conformity with the laws of the constitution as dispensed by Sunya, one has to lead day-to-day life in accordance with two such chains of conduct or discipline, namely : *Ārya Aṣṭānga Mārg* and *Pāramitāchaya.*

Ārya Aṣṭānga Mārg (Noble eightfold path) connotes a way of living which leads to cessation of sorrow in this life. It is the fourth or the last one of "Four noble truths" viz. *Janma, Jarā, Byādhi* and *Mrutyu* as revealed by Gautama Buddha. The Marg embodies eight noble principles viz. Right view, Right resolution, Right action, Right speech, Right livelihood, Right effort, Right mindfulness and Right meditative concentration. If one acts, speaks and thinks in the light of the eight noble principles of *Ārya Aṣṭānga Mārg* he is sure to gain success and happiness in his life, of course impact of Karma-cum-Samskar of past life still overhanging. Thus spoke the Buddha :

"Sabba papassa akaranam
Kusalassa Upasampada
Sachitta Pariyodapanam
etam Buddhanusasanam"

(*Dhammapada*)

(Refrain from committing sins, perform benevolent deeds, keep the thoughts clean, thus is the dispensation of the Buddhas).

Like-wise, observance of *Paramita* which means attainment of perfection to render compassionate service to all beings on earth. Through practice of paramita-chaya merit meaning *Punya* is acquired which will lead to a state of bodhisattvahood and bring happiness in life hereafter. Accumulation of such merit life after life may lead to attainment of Buddhahood endowed with *nirvana,* nay even salvation i.e. *Parinirvāṇa.* The most distinguishing *paramitas* are ten in number viz. (i) *Dāna* (Liberality, Charity or generosity) (ii) *Sīla* (Morality, ethical conduct), (iii) *Dhyāna* (Concentration, Resolution or *adhisthana*) (iv) *Prajñā* (Insight, wisdom) (v) *Vīrya* (Energetic effort or perseverance, vigour) (vi) *Kshānti* (Forebearance, Patience & tolerance) (vii) *Satya* (Truth, and righteousness) (viii) *Niskama* (Renunciation & detachment from gain) (ix) *Maitree* (Loving kindness or amity) (x) *Upekkhā* (Equanimity). In short the two conducts namely *Ārya Aṣṭanga Marg* and *Pāramitāchaya* proclaim to man : Be good thyself and do good to others as well as to gain bliss here and hereafter. Thus spoke the Buddha.

"Ditthincha anupagamma
Sila ba dassanena sampanno
Kamesu bineya gedham
nahi jatu gavaseyampunaretiti"

(Metta Sutta)

(Do not be prey to illusions and blind faith. Develop wisdom coupled with morality. Shun attachment to sensual pleasures and desires. Thereupon it does not happen again to be conceived in a womb).

Theism in Buddhism

Thus Buddhism bearing the original name of Saddharma, that is a religion of eternal truth, and righteousness, and which honours ŚŪNYA and the Aryan gods can never be described as an atheist *(Nāstik)* cult. It is a theist *(Āstik)* religion out and out, in *pāramārthic* sense, reformed, reoriented and rational in practice, with an ethical approach void of *Avidyā* or Illusion. Thus it is a synthesis of science and spiritualism, a refined edition of Sanātana Dharma.

This world religion of humanity is theist in faith and practice putting self in forefront of the much talked of God to be squarely watched, judged and evaluated by the subsequent yard-stick of *Hetuvāda* whereas people of other religions follow their God behind praying for solace. Buddhists, however, are not so much vociferous or dogmatic after Sunya, their God as people of the three other greater religions do for their respective God. It is because the Buddhist focuses dominant attention on the adoption of the constitution (Hetuvāda) dispensed by his God, Śūnya, all the same. So genuine is the faith in the divine power of Almighty Śūnya that Āchārya Nāgārjuna, the pioneer exponent of Sunyavada has said.

"Sarvam Ca Yujyate tasya
Sunyata Yasya Yujyate
Sarvam na Yujyate tasya
Sunyam yasya na jujyate".

(All is well, indeed, for him who to Sunyata conforms. All is not well for him who conforms not to Sunyata).

It will be evident from the above narration that Sunya, the Absolute likened to be the God of the Buddhist uses Hetu (Pratitya) i.e. causation as instrument in shaping the destiny of man. And this mystery was revealed by Tathagata Buddha, the apostle of Sunyavada. In fact, Tathagata is a synonym of Sunya.

This is why the Buddhist cult has been aptly described as follows :

Ye dhamma hetuprabhaba
Tesam hetum Tathagata aha
Tesam-cha yeba nirodha
Ebam badi Mahashramana.

and Lord Buddha is eulogised thus:

Yah Sunyatam Pratitya Samutpadam
Madhyamam Pratipadamekartham injagada
Pranamami tamapratima sambuddham.

Impact of Śūnyavāda on Orissan Culture

Culture is the applied dimension of civilization. If civilization is theory, culture is the practice. Culture embodies the religious, social and the academic life of people, individually and collectively. Saddharma or Buddhism had its bold grip in Orissa right from 6th Century B.C. till 12th Century A.D. Orissa afforded so much favourable field for growth of the Dhamma that Orissa is rightly called the cradle of Buddhism. This being so, Orissa assimilated, practised and preached well the philosophy as enunciated by Theravāda, Pāramitāvāda and Tantravāda popularly known as Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna respectively.

Of the three cults of Buddhism, Mahayāna, otherwise called Boddhisattvayāna was predominant in Orissa as would be evident from the numerous stone statues of Bodhisattvas and Bodhisattvas excavated in several parts of Orissa, all of aesthetic beauty and excellence. Next in order was Tantrayāna as would be evident from the esoteric architectures of tantric deities. Mahayāna held the sway for longest period for over seven hundred years.

Mahayāna is born out of Sunyavāda as revealed by Āchārya Nāgārjuna in the first Century A.D. Nāgārjuna was born in Vidarbha, groomed in Andhra, enlightened in Orissa and shone in Nalanda of Bihar. It is said that Acharya Nagarjuna meditated at Parimalagiri of Bolangir district in Orissa for some period as to realise Śūnyatā. In his samādhi, he visualised the image of Śhree Jagannāth as reflex of Śūnya on Earth and the evolution of the philosophic cult of Shree Jagannath starts from here. This is why Shree Jagannath is regarded as Vajrasattva in Vajrayana- an embodiment of Sunya. Because of his revelation of Mādhyamika Dharshan, Nagarjuna is hailed as the second Buddha in the Buddhist world. Thus we can say Bihar gave birth to the first historical Buddha i.e. Gautama Buddha while Orissa, the cradle of Buddhism, gave birth to the second historical Buddha, Nāgārjuna who through Śūnyavada revealed to the world Adi Buddha Jagannāth, the Lord of the globe. This may be regarded as top impact of Sunyavada on Orissan Culture.

The Philosophy of Śūnyatā was very well received in Orissa where saints like Āryadev, Śāntidev, Saṅtarakshita and Diṅnāga stepped up the thought and practice of this cult following foot-steps of Nagarjuna. The impact in course of time became so popular, deep and wide-spread that a galaxy of saint poets basing their theme on Śūnyavada cropped up. The poets popularly known as Pañchasakha, namely Ananta Das, Jagannath Das, Balarām Das, Achyutānanda Das and Yasovanta Das ushered a new era in Oriya literature vis-a-vis the spiritual life which still shines and is highly prized. This is the second impact of Śūnyavāda on Orissan culture.

Over and above, the religious sects like Nātha and Siddha accepted Śūnya as their summum bonum and accordingly composed their *bhajans* and *dohās* which are still in vogue as glories of Oriya literature. These literary forms had no less impact on the social life of Orissa for years.

Finally to top the list, arose on the scene the cult of Mahimā, a religious sect having Sunya as their Prime. It is the latest product of Śūnyavāda in Orissa producing a large number of illustrious saint-poets and Mahayāna thinkers like Bhimabhoi and Biswanath Baba. This is a living faith in Orissa with thousands of followers whose temple is the temple of Sunya at Joranda in the district of Dhenkanal.

Earliest Buddhist Relics and Jagannātha Trinity

R.N. Dash*

Lord Jagannath is acclaimed as the symbol of Trinity in the world. But the origin of this Trinity is shrouded in mystery. Attempts to trace its probable source in Buddhism is again a conjecture or a forcible equation compared with the present shape of the deities installed in the temple of Jagannath. Yet, that is the earliest reference where we come across the Trinity in its religious context as well as in symbolic form. To ascertain the authenticity of this symbol worship in Orissa on a historical background an attempt is made here to correlate the literary evidence with that of probable history of the ruling monarchs in Orissa.

Lord Buddha flourished in the 6th century B.C. - a fact unanimously accepted by the historians. After his demise towards the 5th century B.C. his followers were divided into two sections, i.e. Sthaviravādins and the Mahāsaṃghikas. These two divisions are otherwise known as Hinayanis and Mahayānis though they did not assume these names immediately after their emergence. The essence of the ideal of the Sthaviravādins was Nirvāṇa or Salvation along with the adherence to the advice of Buddha, worship of Dharma and following of the Sangha.

Twoards the reign of Bimbisara (300-280 B.C.) there appeared a council known as 'Saṁgīti' which was experimenting on secret practices. In course of time, i.e. about the first century B.C. discussions were made on Nirvāṇa in which the nature of Nirvana was reinterpreted. But in the first century B.C. the works like *'Milindapañho'*, and *'Saundarānanda'* of Aśvaghoṣa laid emphasis on Nirvāna. Aśvaghoṣa compared Nirvāṇa with the putting out of the flame. Thus the process to question and interpret different findings by Buddha was started from the first century B.C. onwards. The new entrants to Buddhism demanded changes in the food habit, general behaviour pattern, morality and marriage system. It paved the way to banish Nirvāṇa from the Buddhist ideology and to introduce Tantric forms in lieu of the same. Thus towards the third-fourth century A.D. Guhya Samāja emerged in Buddhism.

During the period between third century B.C. and fourth century A.D. symbol worship in Buddhism developed. We get indication of the same

* Ex-Superintendent, Orissa State Museum.

from *Dāṭhavaṃśa,* a Ceylonese work of the early 4th century A.D. The work notes that in the night before the death of Buddha he did three specific things i.e. he preached Dhamma to the Mallas, caused Subhaddā to acquire Nirvāṇa, and instructed the Bhikkhus to be strenuous probably for the cause of Śamgha. These might be the earliest symbols for worship giving rise to the concept of trinity in Buddhism. Later on the concept grew to that of relic worship towards the early 3rd century B.C. and in the mid 3rd century B.C. Ashoka, the Mauryan Emperor and conqueror of Kalinga tried to send out relics of Buddha to different regions and built stupas over the same. At the time of Ashoka the mortal remains of Buddha were sent to 84,000 selected places in and outside India. All these were ushered and accelerated by the Vaibhajyavādins, a sect of the Theravadins. Thus, Thera Khema gave a tooth relic of Buddha to Brahmadatta, the king of Kalinga during the time of Ashoka.

Daṭhavaṁśa records the transportation of the tooth relic to Ceylon through Danta Kumāra and Hemamāla the son-in-law and the daughter of Guhaśiva, the king of Kalinga. This relic was worshipped in Kalinga since the time of Brahmadatta. *Dāṭhavaṁśa* was translated by Thera Dharmakīrtti, the Buddhist scholar, into Pali. Since Dharmakīrtti is known from an inscription recorded in the Mahendra mountain of Orissa, probably he was prompted to translate the work for the knowledge of the Indian people in general and the Orissan people in particular. The work has incorporated interesting historical facts about the worship of Buddhist trinity likely to be the base of the Jagannath trinity. *Dathavamsa* was written in the early part of the 4th century A.D. i.e. in 310 A.D. (Turner, 1837 : 105) Again, it was written just before the commencement of the Gupta Era which starts from 320 A.D. Anything stated in the same must be incorporating the events prior to this date.

According to *Dāṭhavaṁśa* Brahmadatta, the king of Kalinga ruling at Dantapura, received the tooth relic from Thera Khema. Relics of Buddha were sent by Ashoka to different parts of the globe after his conquest of Kalinga and conversion into Buddhism. Whether Brahmadatta was a Buddhist king installed by Ashoka on the throne of Kalinga or he was converted into Buddhism by Khema to receive the tooth relic is not known. But Theravādins become instrumental in ushering the worship of the tooth relic in Orissa soon after the conquest of Kalinga by Ashoka. The recent recovery of the Buddhist relics from Lalitgiri in the undivided Cuttack district placed in three caskets indicates Triratna worship in Orissa around the post-Ashokan period.

Again according to *Dāṭhavaṁśa,* when Khema handed over the tooth relic to Brahmadatta, he instructed him to put his faith in three excellent

gems (Law, 1925 : 16) i.e. Buddha, Dhamma and Saṁghaṃ (Ibid-F.N.) *Dāṭhavaṁsa* further mentions that "The king made a temple for the tooth-relic, which was adorned with garlands of pendant pearls bedecked with gold, surrounded by the *Kuṭagaras* (Pinnacled houses), difficult to be seen on account of the lustre of various gems attractive to the eyes, and which was vehicle to heaven and nirvana and which brought about pleasure, and he made a stool for the relics as bright as gems (Ibid, V. 61-63). Putting the tooth-relic of the great sage there, he worshipped (it) with various objects of worship throughout the day and night strenuously" (V. 64). Thus Brahmadatta placed the Tooth-relic on a stool or platform inside a newly built chaitya or temple and started worshipping it day and night. Subsequently other Buddhist kings of Kalinga continued worshipping it as such whereupon the place grew into a town or city with prosperity.

The worship pattern continued unabated till the regin of Guhasiva when he came in conflict with the Niganthas i.e. the Jainas. He ordered all the Niganthas to be driven out from the kingdom. This brought about his conflict with the Jainas who complained before king Pāṇdu of Pataliputra, the overlord of Guhaśiva, regarding the latter's anti-religious behaviour. Hearing all about this Pandu sent his general Cittāyana to bring Guhasiva to Magadha with the tooth-relic. Cittāyana came to Kalinga and visited Dantapura with his soldiers to have a view of the tooth-relic. He saw the city prosperous with alms-houses, decorated with walls, towers, buildings, places and valuable paintings (V. 101). He visited the temple of chaitya containing the relic of Buddha at Dantapura (V. 109). The be-jewelled stupa was decorated with golden garlands, jewelled small bells, door panes of sapphire, hanging pearl garlands, coral garlands and with door frames decorated with sandal wood (V. 110-111). Then the casket of relic, decorated with gems, was placed under a white canopy. He being pleased, saw the temple of relic which was placed on a stool as bright as gem, high, having the roof adorned with lapis lazuli and having the tower with pictures of fish and he was astonished (V. 112-113). Then the Lord of Kalinga opening the casket prayed with folded hands (V. 114-115). Probably the city was named Dantapura in honour of the sacred tooth or Danta. Since the king and the people worshipped the relic, it became a shrine of the kingdom.

After this Guhaśiva went to Pātaliputra along with the casket. The journey was made by a chariot. For this journey Dantapura was decorated with banners, flowers, incense and towers. The king carried the casket placed over his head under a big canopy to the chariot. The country and town people were following the king with tearful eyes. The chariot was decorated

with a carpet and was looking beautiful like the morning sun. Probably it was decorated with a red cloth. A white umbrella was also placed on the chariot. A large army was following it.

At Pataliputra the relic was worshipped by the overlord, i.e. Pandu. The king Pāndu along with his officers was converted into Buddhism and they became worshippers of the tooth relic. This infuriated the Jainas who planned an invasion of Pātaliputra through the neighbouring king Khīradhara. But he was defeated and Pandu sent back Guhaśiva to Kalinga with the relic.

Dantakumāra, the son of the king of Ujjain came to Dantapura to worship the tooth relic. Guhaśiva gave his daughter Hemamāla in marriage to the prince of Ujjain. Soon after the nephews of Khīradhara invaded Kalinga. They stayed at Malayavana a town near Dantapura and demanded the relic. So Guhaśiva handed over the relic to his son-in-law and daughter and advised them to go to Mahāsena, the king of Ceylon from Tāmralipti. Guhaśiva went to fight the enemy and died fighting in the battle field. Hearing the news Dantakumara disguised himself as a Brahmin and fled with the relic.

On the way to Ceylon he went to the southern country crossing a big river. There he concealed the relic in a heap of sand and went to bring Hemamala. After returning he used to stay concealed in a bush, but continued to worship the relic as usual.

Thereafter, a Thera going by the sky and finding various rays continually coming from the heap that concealed the relic, got down and worshipped it and went away. After him the king of the serpents (Nāgarāja) Pandubhara came over there. He worshipped it and took it away with the casket to keep it concealed at Ratnagiri. By the help of the Thera, Dantakumāra got back the casket and set out for Tāmbaliti (i.e. Tamralipati) to sail away to Ceylon. The same relic is being worshipped at Anuradhapura of Ceylon till this date.

The place of the tooth-relic concealed in the sands of the southern country is indicative of a place somewhere near the sea beyond a big river. This river may be the Mahānadi.

If we look to the history of India we find that Ashoka's rule ended in 236 B.C. At a subsequent date between 187-151 or 184-148 B.C. Puṣyamitra, the Brahmin minister and commander-in-chief of the Magadhan dynasty assumed full power and carried on relentless war against the foreign invaders as well as Buddhism. It has been stated that Puṣyamitra was the commander-in-chief of Brihaṣpatimitra identified with Brihaṣpati of

Divyavādana, the son of Samprati who was the grand son of Asoka (Panigrahi, 1981 : 30). Kharavela defeated Brihaṣpatimitra in 147 B.C. in the 12th year of his reign soon after the demise of Pusyamitra in 148 B.C. Further, it has been mentioned that Kharavela was the third member of the Kalingan Chedis, an independent ruling dynasty of Kalinga. He ruled between c. 159-146 B.C. or for some more years. (Panigrahi, 1981: 29) The beginning of the rule of the Chedis professing Jaina religion is given as 180 B.C. (Mahapatra, 1973 : 39). Thus after the rule of Ashoka in 236 B.C. till the advent of the Chedi rule in 180 B.C.a period of 56 years is found unaccounted for. Most likely the Buddhist king Brahmadatta, his son and grandson Kasiraja and Sunanda and some other Buddhist kings along with Guhasiva were ruling during these 56 years. Since the nephews of Khiradhara defeated Guhasiva and occupied Kalinga and we find an independent Chedi dynasty embracing Jainism were ruling after him, the Buddhists had to flee from Kalinga with their tooth-relics. We further know that Mahameghavahana of the Chedi dynasty established their rule in Kalinga (Sircar, 1968 : 212). This Mahameghavahana might be the nephew of Khiradhara who defeated Guhasiva and established his Jaina rule in Kalinga. Since *Dāṭhavaṁśa* is a Buddhist work, it has not preserved the name of the Chedi invader adhering to an alien religion. Thus with the beginning of the role of Mahameghavahana, Orissa threw away the yoke of Magadhan overlordship and became independent in 180 B.C.

The plight of Dantakumāra, the prince of Ujjain, indicates that the Buddhist rule ended there by the Chedis patronising Jaina religion. The Chedis found it worthwhile to chase Dantakumara to foil the alliance of Ujjain and Kalinga ruling powers, the adherants of Buddhism, to make their position safe. Thus the tooth relic was removed to Ceylon by Dantakumara around 180 B.C.

Dantakumara concealed the tooth relic inside the sands of the southern country. Sand dunes are found along the coastal strip from Chilka towards the north on the Bay of Bengal, particularly upto the mouth of the Mahānadi river. It is likely that Dantakumāra anticipating the fall of Guhaśiva built a temple near the Puri coast in hot haste to conceal the tooth-relic inside. It is thus obviously and probably the earliest temple for the worship of Triratna or Jagannātha trinity in its archaic form at Puri. After he took away the relic to Tāmralipti in order to sail away to Ceylon the temple remained empty till it was to be dug out by Gālamādhava of the Nilamādhava legend. Since Dantakumāra belonged to Ujjain, i.e. Avanti it has been said in the same legend that the earliest temple was built by the king of Avanti.

The car journey of Guhaśiva to Pātaliputra with the tooth-relic and his return journey from that place might be the earliest Buddhist car festival of Triratna in Orissa, which was a memorable event to be enacted each year.

Select Bibliography

1. Law, B.C.: 1925: *The Dathavamsa* (Ed. and translated), Lahore.
2. Mahapatra K.N.: 1973: *Sri Kharavela* (Oriya), p. 39.
3. Sircar, D.C.: 1968: *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II, p. 212.
4. Panigrahi, K.C.: 1981: *History of Orissa*, p. 22.

Buddhist Tantra Works of Orissa

Bhagaban Panda*

प्रज्ञोपायात्मकं वन्दे बुद्धत्रिकायरुपिणम् ।
प्रभावात् ज्ञायते यस्य भवनिर्वाणमुत्तमम् ॥ तन्त्रप्रकाशः-१ ॥

Introduction

The role of ancient Orissa in the development of Buddhist religion, philosophy and Tantra will be remembered for ever in the history of Buddhism in India. The archaeological remains of several Buddhist centres, stūpas and innumerable images of various gods and goddesses and Tantric deities discovered so far, prove the popularity of Buddhism among the people of Orissa for the past several centuries.

It is known from the history of Buddhism that in the first phase the Buddhist Theravāda and Sarvastivāda continued in Orissa. In course of time the philosophy of Madhyamika and Vijnānavāda (Yogāchāravāda) developed and subsequently the Vajrayāna, Kālachakrayāna and Sahajayāna of the Mahayāna school of Buddhism were innovated and propagated in Orissa.

The renowned professors, preceptors, great teachers and scholars who lived in the Buddhist religious centres of Orissa namely, Parimalagiri, Surabhagiri, Bhorasaila, Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri, Tamralipta, Chelitalo, Dantapura of Uddiyana or ancient Orissa, contributed much to the development of Tantric Buddhism through which Buddhism in the later period developed into a world religion.

The valuable works written on different aspects of Tantric Buddhism are now very rare to us. Many works are even now in manuscript form in and outside India. But the works which have come to the notice of the scholars, have unfolded many important facts about the history and culture of India of that period. From the vast Buddhist literature, especially Buddhist Tantras, a maiden effort is made here to present briefly an introduction to the Buddhist Tantra works of Orissa as no detailed study could be prepared due to non-availability of original works in Orissa and want of their publications as well.

Beginning from the great philosopher Nāgārjuna (c. 175 A.D.) of the South to the Buddhist Āchārya Santarakṣita (c. 740 A.D.) of Orissa

* Editor, Directorate of Culture, Orissa, Bhubaneswar.

many scholars and preceptors flourished or settled in Orissa. They contributed many notable works on the branch of Buddhist studies.

Among them Āryadeva (c. 200 A.D.) the writer of *Chatuśataka, Dvādaśanikāyaśāstra, Chittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa, Jñānasārasamucchaya,* etc. was a disciple of Nāgārjuna. They both (Guru and śiṣya) preached the atheism of Mādhyamika philosophy which subsequently gave way to the rise of the Yogāchāra Vijñānavāda in Orissa.

Āchārya Diṅnāga (c. 500 A.D.) of Kanchi, a disciple of Vasubandhu (c. 320-400 A.D.) settled in Bhorasaila near Delanga of Orissa and composed many treatises along with his famous work *Pramāṇasamucchaya.* His co-disciple Vasumitra spent the whole of his life for propagation of Buddhism in Orissa.

Āchārya Triratna Das (c. 500 A.D.), the writer of *Anantaguṇa* was a disciple of Vasumitra.

Āchārya Dharmakīrti (c. 671 A.D.) of Chola country wrote *Nyāyabindu* and *Vādanyāya* and spent his life in a Buddhist centre established by himself in Orissa.

According to the tradition there were two Āchāryas in the name of Sāntideva during the same period (c. 8th century A.D.). One of them was a philosopher and the other was a Tantric. The philosopher Śāntideva, the writer of *Śikṣāsamucchaya, Sūtrasamucchaya* and *Bodhicharyāvatāra* was believed to have been born in a royal family of Saurastra and Tantric Śāntideva (Bhusukupada), the writer of *Śrīguhyasamāja-mahayoga-tantrāvalī-Vidhi, Chittachaitanyasamanopāya,* etc. was a king of Jahore which has been identified with Keonjhar in Orissa.

Āchārya Santarakṣita, the writer of *'Tattvasamgraha'* was a great Buddhist philosopher of Orissa. He wrote two other works namely *Vadanyayavrttivipanchitartha* and *Madhyamikalankarakarika.* He went to Tibbet with his brother-in-law and propagated the Tantrayana cult of Buddhism there.

These six Āchārayas, namely Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti were regarded as great Buddhist philosophers and originators of the Tantric thought in the history of Buddhism in India.

Development of Tantric Concept

From the 4th - 5th century A.D. the Tantric way of worship in Buddhism began to take shape which reached a developed stage in the 7th century through the initiative of the above Acharyas. The works incorporating

the Tantric way of life included in *Mahāyānasutra* consisted of *Guhyasamājatantra, Tathāgata-guhyakasutra, Tathāgatachintyaguhyanirdeśa,* etc. which were treated as the basic works of the Buddhist Tantras.

The propagators of Tantricism first of all introduced the worship of Dhārinī along with mystical formula to save the people from the apprehension of the demons, ghosts, spirits, snakes, etc. the device of which was first mentioned in *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* of Vasubandhu. In course of time the scriptures were composed or compiled on the influece of mystic formulas *(Vījamantras)* and their way of repetition, the worship of various symbols, the practice of esoteric methods and the way of getting attainment.

The Mantrayāna gradually developed basing on the mystic formulas and due to its immene influence the Mahayāna branch of Buddhism was divided into two schools, viz Pāramitānaya and Mantrānaya. Basing on the principles of the Mantrayāna, the Tantrayāna was formulated and Tantricism expanded in the Buddhist theology.

To attain the supernatural or spiritual power, the devotees and the worshippers followed the custom of *Abhiṣeka* (anointing) *Dīkṣā* (initiation), *Upadeśa* (instruction), *Mudrā* (sign), *Maṇḍala* (mystic circle), *Yantra* (diagram) *Chakra* (symbolic wheel), *Mūrti* (images of gods and goddesses), *Samādhi* (meditation).

The practice of five makaras (essential materials) namely *Madya* (wine) *Māṅsa* (flesh), *Matsya* (fish), *Mudrā* (women) and *Maithuna* (cohabitation) and six types of *Abhichāras* (escoteric ritual), viz *Vaśya* (subjugation), *Stambhana* (paralisation), *Mohana* (bewildering), *Dveṣana* (creating hatred), *Ucchātana* (eradication), *Mārana* (killing) and *Akarṣana* (seduction) became predominantly essential for the worshippers, who desire to secure prosperity, avert the calamities and promote the welfare of the world.

Ultimately Buddhism developed into Tantrayāna for ever relegating its primary objects to the background.

In course of time, the Tantrayāna was divided into three sects namely Vajrayāna, Kālachakrayāna and Sahajayāna.

The aim of Vajrayāna was to prove that everything is unsubstantial in the world through which the idea of atheism (Sūnyavāda) developed. The zero or void is symbolised as Vajra. This has been described in the following lines of Advayavajrasamgraha —

दृढं सारमसौशीर्य्यमच्छेदयाभेदयलक्षणम् ।
अदाही अविनाशी च शून्यता वज्रमुच्यते ॥ (पू-३६)

Vajra is believed to be that object which is indestructible, imperishable, inseparable, impenetrable and firm and is known as void. The idea coincides with the concept of Ātmā of *Bhagavadgītā* —

नैनं छिन्दन्ति शस्त्राणि नैनं दहति पावक: ।
न चैनं क्लेदयन्त्यापो न शोषयति मारुत: ॥

This void can be realised through the knowledge of *Sat* (existent), *Asat* (non-existent) and *Sadasat* (good and evil) or the mādhyamika way of meditation.

Āchārya Āryadeva rightly said in his *'Jñānasāra samucchaya'* thus —

न सन्नासन्नसदसन्न चाप्यनुभयात्मकम् ।
चतुष्कोटिविनिर्मुक्तं तत्त्वं माध्यमिका विदु: ॥ (२२)

The *Guhyasamājatantra* of the unknown writer is a famous and the oldest work of the Vajrayāna sect. The family of five Buddhas as the symbol of five instincts were first conceived in this work. It was also mentioned there that the real knowledge of ultimate truth could be achieved by perception of the Buddha family —

मोहो द्वेषस्तथा राग: सदा वज्रे रति: स्थिता ।
उपायस्तेन बुद्धानां वज्रयानमिति स्मृतम् ॥

In Buddha family Vairochana with his female energy *Vajradhātvīsvarī* represents illusion *(Moha)*, Aksobhya with Lochanā represents enmity *(Dveṣa)*, Ratnasambhava with Māmakī represents anxiety *(Chintā)*, Amitābha with Pāṇḍarā represents desire *(Rāga)* and Amoghasiddhi with Āryatārā represents time *(Kālā or Samaya)*. These Buddhas called Dhyānī Buddhas with their Sign, Vehicle, Colour, Bodhisattva, Pratyeka Buddha and mystical formula were considered as the incarnation of Ādibuddha or void. This is the essence of Vajrayāna.

The Kālachakrayana which is based on secret worship was another branch of the Tantrayāna. According to the school, the entire world has been created by the union of Buddha and Kālī. The main aim of the sect was to preserve the creation. The gods namely Buddha, Kālachakra, Heruka, Achala, Vajrabhairava with the female energy Kālī, Dākinī, etc. were worshipped in Kālachakrayāna which is a part of Vajrayāna. The principal aim of both Kālachakrayāna and Vajrayāna was to attain Buddhatva in life.

The Sahajayāna, another branch of Tantrayāna, was developed as an independent section though the ways of worship of the above sect were synthesised in this sect. The highest attainment is happiness which can be achieved through the fulfilment of natural desire. This is the fundamental truth of Sahajayāna sect.

Āchārya Advayavajra has mentioned in his *'Advayavajrasamgraha'* that the worshippers have to worship five Tathāgatas and five yoginīs in the quadrangular circle like the worship of five Dhyānī Buddhas of Vajrayāna sect. They formed the Buddhakula named Pañchākāra who represent all the aspects of the world. It is said that —

शून्यता करुणाभिन्नं यच्च चिन्तं प्रभाव्यते ।
सा च बुद्धस्च धर्मस्य संघस्यापि हि देशना ॥
गुडे मधुरता चाग्नेरुष्णत्वं प्रकृतिर्यथा ।
भवस्यैव परिज्ञानं निर्वाणमिति कथ्यते ॥ (पृ-४२)

These are the primary bases of the Buddhist Tantra on which various Tantric works were developed by the followers of the Mahayāna Buddhism.

Tantric authors and their works

In the history of Buddhism 84 saints were regarded as the followers and propagators of Tantra system and the writer of the Tantra works. Among them some were either born in Orissa or associated with the Tantra centres of Orissa. A brief account on Orissan authors and their work is presented here.

1. **Sarahapāda**

Āchārya Sarahapāda (c. 633 A.D.) was one of the oldest spiritual guides among the Buddhist Tantra propagators of India. He was born in a respectable Brahmin family of Orissa and his name was Rāhulabhadra. A great scholar in Vedic literature as well as Buddhist scripture, he was initiated by Āchārya Sthavirakāla into Mantrayāna. He wrote about 25 Tantra works among which *Buddhakapāla-sādhanā, Buddhakapāla Tantra pañjikā Jñānavatī, Trailokyavaśaṁkara Lokeśvara sādhana* etc. in Sanskrit and *Dohākoṣa, Dohāgītika, Chittakoṣaja-Vajragīti,* etc. in proto-Oriya were very popular. He had acquired spiritual knowledge and power by the worship of Mahāmudra and introduced the worship of Trailokyavaśamkar and Bhakta Lokeśvara which were propagated from the Uddiyana throughout India.

Sarahapāda was known as Saraha, Saroha and Sarorohapāda. According to the scholars there were more than one Saraha during different periods. But Saraha (Rāhulabhadra) known with the epithet of Mahācharya, Mahābrāhmana, Mahāyogeśvara flourished during the reign of Bhaumakaras in Orissa. He was regarded as the earliest promulgator of Sahajayāna.

2. **Śabarīpāda**

Āchārya Śabarīpāda (c. 57 A.D.) was a resident of Orissa according to the evidence of the 'dohās' written by him though his place of birth has not yet been decided definitely. He was a disciple of Saraha.

Śabarīpada had attained spiritual power through the worship of Vajrayoginī and Kurukullā of Uḍḍiyāna. He had written about 16 works out of which *Sitakurukullasādhanā, Vajrayoginī Sādhanā, Mahamudrā Vajragīti, Sūnyatādṛṣti, Chittaguhyagambhīrārthagīti, Ṣaḍangayoga, Sahasaṅkara Svādhisthāna, Sahajopadesa-ṣvādhisthāna* are note-worthy. Some of his works have been preserved in the collection of *Sādhanamālā* (Vol. II p. 384-388).

3. Luipāda

Āchārya Luipāda (c. 669 A.D.) was born in a fisherman family on the bank of river Prāchi of Orissa. His name was Sāmantaśubha. He was initiated to Buddhism by Āchārya Śabarīpāda while he was working as a Mahāsāmanta under a king of Orissa. He had attained success in Vajrayāna worship and was known as Luipāda or Lohipāda. But scholars differ about his place of birth, name, caste, etc. His works include *Vajrasattvasādhanā, Buddhodaya, Sri Bhagavadabhisamaya, Abhisamayavibhaṅga* in Sanskrit and *Tattva-svabhavadṛṣti, Dohākosagīta, Luipāda-gītikā* in proto-Oriya language. But he was different from Luipā, the founder of Nāthism.

4. Siddha Vajraghanta

Āchārya Vajraghanta (c. 671 A.D.) was born in a royal family of Orissa. He was initiated by Luipāḍa and acquired supernatural power through the worship of Mahāmudra. He was propitiator of Vajrayāna in Uddiyana. Unfortunately his works have not come to the notice of the scholars.

5. Kambalapāda

Āchārya Kambalapāda (c. 683 A.D.) the disciple of Vajraghanta was born in a royal family of Orissa. After attaining success in Chakrasambara Tantra he introduced the Hevajra worship in Tantra Cult of Buddhism. He was the author of *Guhyasiddhi*, a text of Vajrayāna sect.

6. Anangavajra

Āchārya Anangavajra (c. 705 A.D.) the disciple of Padmavajra was a contemporary of Kambalapāda. He has written many works on Hevajra worship. His *Prajnopāya Vinischayaśiddhi* is an original work on Vajrayāna doctrine. This work has been divided into five chapters and 182 verses in which topics like *Prajñopāyavipañcha, Vajrācharyārādhananirdeśa, Bodhichittābhiṣeka, Tatvabhāvanā* and *Charyānirdeśa* respectively have been discussed.

The author is no doubt a resident of Orissa as he refers to the name of Sri Jagannath (2 - 26) and Subhakara (5 - 54), a king of the Bhanmakara dynasty of Orissa.

The real knowledge of Prajñā and Upāya, according to the author, will fulfill all the desires and all will attain salvation —

चिन्तामणिरिवाशेषजगत: सर्वदा स्थित: ।
भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदं सम्यक् प्रज्ञोपायस्वरुपत: ॥ (१-२५)

Among the other works of Anangavajra the name *Śrī Hevajrasādhana, Hevajranāmasādhanopāyikā, Homakarmakrama, Visanirbahana-bhāvanākrama* are worth mentioning.

7. **Indrabhuti**

Āchārya Indrabhuti (c. 717 A.D.) the desciple of Kambalapāda and Anangavajra, was a king of Uddiyāna. He was known through the epithets like Mahācharya, Avadhuta and Uḍḍiyāna-siddha and he introduced the worship of eight handed Kurukullā in Orissa. He has written 23 works as has been noticed by the scholars.

(1) *Śrīchakrasambhara - Tantrarāja sambhara - samucchaya Vṛtti*, (2) *Śrīchakra-sambhara stotra*, (3) *Chakrasambharānubandhasaṁgraha*, (4) *Siddha Vajrayoginīsādhanā*, (5) *Vajrayoginīmantra tattva svādhisthāna saṁgraha*, (6) *Śukla-Vajrayoginīsādhanā*, (7) *Dākinī Vajra-pañjara Mahatantraraja Pañjika*, (8) *Kulikamahatattvanirnaya*, (9) *Sri Samputatilaka yoginī tantrarājatīkā*, (10) *Śrī Ānandapuspamālā*, (11) *Smrtisandarsanāloka*, (12) *Śrītattvamṛtopadeśa*, (13) *Mahāmāyāsādhanā*, (14) *Sarvabuddha samayoganamatantrapanjika*, (15) *Dakinijalasambhara Tantrārthatīka*, (16) *Sarvabuddhasamayogagana Vṛtti*, (17) *Vajrasattvopāyikā*, (18) *Sahaja-siddhi*, (19) *Tattvaṣtakadṛṣti*, (20) *Ratnachakrābhiṣekopadeśa*, (21) *Āryamañjuśrīnāmasangiti Vṛtti*, (22) *Kurukullasādhana* and (23) *Jñānasiddhi*.

The works mentioned above cover the wide range of practical knowledge and experience of the author in various tantras and tantric worship of Vajrayāna sect of Buddhism.

Jnānasiddhi is an original work which is divided into 20 Chapters in which the following topic;s namely Tattvanirdeśa, Rūpabhāvanā, Sākāranirākaraṇa, Nirākaranirākaraṇa, Mudhabhāvanāniṣedha, Aśvasapratisedha, Mahāsukhaprātavarnikapratiṣedha, Punyajnāna- sambharaprāptyupāya, Pāpapunyotpāda-vināsaparijnānanirdeśa, Śuchyaśuchya-Kalpanā Vimukta-gamyāgamyarahita, Tattvasthāpana, Gurulakṣana, Śiṣyalakṣana, Tantroktattvakṣaraparanirdeśana, Upāyanirdeśana, Vajrajnānābhiṣekavidhi, Adhimatrendriya Vidhāna, Madhyendriya Vidhi nirdeśa and Mṛdvindriyanirdeśa have been discussed.

To authenticate his work, the author has quoted Buddhist Tantras, namely Tattvasamgraha-tantra, Yogatantra, Śarvatantra, Śrīsamajottaratantra,

Tantrarāja, Advayasamatāvijaya, Mahāsamaryatantra, Mayajalatantra, Sri Vajramandālalankāra, Sambaratantra, etc. in the *Jñānasiddhi.*

Mahāchārya Indrabuti begins his work with the following prayer to Sri Jagannatha. According to the scholars this has been accepted as the first mention of Sri Jagannatha of Orissa —

प्रणिपत्य जगन्नाथं सर्वजिनवरार्चितम् ।
सर्वबुद्धमयं सिद्धिव्यापिनं गगनोपमम् ॥ (१-१)

The word Jagannatha has been mentioned five times (I-27, 92, II-28, V-8) in the work, which according to some scholars, is the name of the preceptor of Indrabhuti. But this is not acceptable by others, because, the word has been used by the author for Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. However the work has been accepted as an authority on Vajrayāna.

8. **Padmasambhava**

Āchārya Padmasambhava (c. 722 A.D.) was a son or an adopted son of King Indrabhuti. He went to Tibbet with his brother-in-law Santa Rakṣita (c. 740 A.D.) and they both had propagated the Tantrayāna cult there and had established a monastery at Samaye in 780 A.D. like the Odantapuri monastery at Magadha. Āchārya Padmasambhava was the founder of Lamaism in Tibbet. His work *'Vajrapradīpa'* is the most famous work on Tantrayāna.

9. **Laksmīnkarā**

Āchārya Laksmīnkarā (c. 729 A.D.) was the sister of king Indrabhuti and daughter-in-law of king Jalendra of Lankāpurī, identified with modern Sonepur in the district of Bolangir. She was a noble disciple of Indrabhuti and a pioneer propagator of Sahajayāna cult. Her work *Advayasiddhi* has been accepted as an authentic book of Sahajayāna in which she has introduced the worship of god who resides in the present body. So she said that —

न नष्कल्पनां कुर्य्यान्नोपवासो न च क्रियाम् ।
स्नानं शौचं न चैवात्र ग्रामधर्मविवर्जनम् ॥
न चापि वन्दयेद्वेवान् काष्ठपाषाणमृण्मयान् ।
पुजामस्यैव कायस्य कुर्य्यान्नित्यंएमाहितः ॥
(अद्वयसिद्धिः) (अद्वयवज्रसंग्रह-पृ-४२)

10. **Advayavajra**

Āchārya Advayavajra (c. 750 A.D.) was a disciple of Laksmīnkarā and his history is shrouded in mystery. Though individual works assigned

to him have not yet come to light, but *Advaya Vajrasamgraha* which is believed to be his magnum opus, mentions him as Avadhuta Advaya Vajrapāda.

Advayavajra samgraha is a collection of 21 small works. They are *Kudṛstinirghanta, Sthūlapatti* and *Mūlapatti, Tattvaratnāvalī, Pañchatathāgatamudrā-Vivaraṇa, Sekanirṇaya, Chaturmudrā, Ṣekatanvayasamgraha, Pañchākāra, Māyānirukti, Tattvaprakāśa, Mahāsukhaprakāśa, Yuganaddhaprakāśa, Apratisṭhānaprakāśa, Tattvaviṃsikā, Mahāyanaviṃsikā, Nirvedhapanchaka, Madhyakaṣataka, Premapanchaka, Tattvadaśaka and Amanasikāradhārā.*

To make the work authentic, the author has quoted the works and authors, namely *Āryavimalakīrtinirdeśa, Hevajravachana, Nāmasangīti, Mañjuśrī, Mahāmaṇḍala Vyuha, Prajñāpāramitā, Nāgārjuna, Kīrtipāda, Maitreyanātha, Saddharma pundarīka, Vajraśekhara, Chatupradīpa, Lankāvatara, Dākinīvajrapañjara, Nirnādatantra, Uchhusmatantra, Yogādhyāya, Bhagavadgītā* etc.

This is a unique collection in which some important aspects of Vajrayāna sect namely the *Abhiṣeka,* the worship of *mudrā* and *maṇḍala,* the recitation of different seed mantras, the character of the worshipper *(Upāsaka),* etc. have been discussed in the section of *Kudṛstinirghatana.*

Tattvaratnāvalī is another important section in which the meditation of different sects has been discussed. *Tattvavikāśa, Tattvaviṃsikā* and *Tattvadaśaka* are most important works in which the philosophy of Tantra has been discussed briefly in 13, 20 and 10 verses respectively.

According to Advayavajra the *Upāsaka* should be as follows —

उद्‌युक्तो बुद्धपूजायाम् उपशान्तोपशायकः ।
उपकाराय सन्त्वानाम् उपायेनान्वितो भवेत् ॥
पापानावर्जयेन्नित्यं पापिष्ठैः सह सङ्गतिम् ।
पापान्निवारयन् जन्तोः पापंसर्वत्र दर्शयेत् ॥
समारोपविनिर्मुक्तः समाधौ सुसमाहितः ।
सर्वदा परमानन्दी संवोधिं साधयेद्‌बुधः ॥
करोति सर्वदा यत्नं करुणां परिपालयेत् ।
कष्ेनापि न चानिष्टं करोत्युपकृतिं पराम् ॥ (पृ-१०)

The author has introduced six common things as the symol of six Buddhist Pāramitās and advised all to practise them in day-to-day life in the following verse —

दानं गोमयमम्बुना च सहितं शीलंच सम्मर्जनं
क्षान्ति: क्षुद्रपिपीलिमापनयनं वीर्य्या कियास्थापनम् ।
ध्यानं तत्क्षणमेकचित्तकरणं प्रज्ञा सुरेखोज्वला
एता: पारमिता: षडेव लभते कृत्वा मुनेर्मण्डलम् ॥ (पृ-६)

In short, *Advaya Vajra Samgraha* is a most important work which contains most of the aspects of Vajrayāna sect of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

11. Birupāda

Acharya Birupada (c. 950 A.D.), the disciple of Jalandharipada was born in a Brahmin family on the bank of the river Virupa in Orissa. He has written works namely, *Dohākoṣa, Virupāda Chaturaśīti, Virupa Vajragītika,* etc. Nothing more is known about his sadhana and the achievements.

12. Kāhnupāda

Acharya Kahnupada (c. 1000 A.D.), a great scholar known as Kṛsnachārya and Kṛsnapāda and the disciple of Jālandharipada, was born in a respectable Brahmin family of Orissa. After initiation to the Tantric cult he wrote about 70 works out of which notable books are *Kurukulla-sādhana, Asambaddhadṛsti and Bodhicharyāvataratika.*

It is known from the Mystic Tales of Lāmā Tārānāth that many Buddhist saints, the followers of Tantra culture were associated with the Tantra centres of Orissa. Among the other Āchāryas, namely Jālandharipāda, the author of *Suddhīvajrapradīpa, Moksākara,* the commentator of *Apabhraṃśadohākoṣa,* Jnānamitra of Tripura, Subhakara, the writer of *Vaśyadhikāramanjuśrīsādhana,* Śāntipāda the author of *Dvibhuja Herukasādhanā,* Virūpākṣa, the writer of *Mahakālasādhanā,* also lived in different monasteries and Tantra centres of Orissa.

There were some other Oriya siddhas, namely Dārikapāda, Tādakāpāda, Vīnāpāda who were credited as the composer of Dohas in Oriya. Through these Dohas they helped the tantric practice in Orissa. Thus the tantric tradition continued in Orissa from early times and served as a vital force to influence the tenets of Buddhism. So Orissa, the place of origin of Buddhist Tantra, played a very significant role in the history of Buddhism in India. Now we conclude with the following words of Anangavajrapada —

लाभालाभे च येषामयशसि यशसि स्फारिदु:स्वे सुरवे च
निन्दायां संस्तुतौ च क्षतसकलमलं तुल्यमेव स्वचेत: ।

मुक्तैः सर्वैर्विकल्पैर्जगति सकरुणं चर्य्ययाने च सक्तं
युक्तं तेषां करस्थं सुगतपदमिति प्रोक्तवान् वज्रसत्त्वः ॥
(प्रज्ञोपायविनिश्चयसिद्धि-५-४८)

Reference

1. *Buddhism in Orissa* - Dr. N.K. Sahu, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, 1958.
2. *Two Vajrayāna Works* - Ed. Dr. B. Bhattacharya, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1929.
3. *Mystic Tales of Lama Taranath* - B. Dutta, Calcutta, 1944.
4. *Introduction to Tantric Buddhism* - Dr. S.B. Dasgupta, Calcutta, 1950.
5. *The Buddhist Tantras* - Alex Wayman, Newyork, 1973.
6. *Sādhanamālā* - Ed. Dr. B. Bhattacharya, Baroda, 1968.
7. *Āścharyacharyāchaya* - Dr. K. Kar, Orissa Sahitya Academi, Bhubaneswar, 1969.
8. *Advayavajrasaṁgraha* - Ed. Dr. B. Bhattacharya, Baroda, 1927.
9. *Jñānasiddhi* (Oriya) - Dr. B. Panda, Aravinda Printing Press, Cuttack, 1985.
10. *Prajñopāyaviniśchayasiddhi* - Ed. Dr. B. Bhattacharya, Baroda, 1929.
11. *Sahajayāna* - Dr. R.P. Mishra, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1991.

Buddhism and the Tribals of Orissa

Gopal Krishna Srichandan*

Before dealing with the subject with regard to propagation and influence of Buddhism in tribal areas, the traits and characteristics of the tribal people living in Orissa region needs some elucidation.

The Tribals of 62 denominations in Orissa form approximately 13.35% of the total tribal population of the country and 23.11% of the total population of the State scattered all over the 30 districts, of course, predominantly inhabiting the mountainous upland districts on the western side. The inherent trend of isolation common to all tribal societies could not eliminate all religious cultural contact and economic competition between the tribals and non-tribals, but it certainly could have reduced the possibilities of interaction between them to a great extent. However, the cardinal objective of all religions is to improve and develop the quality of life of the people, so also of the tribals.

Religious leaders and workers including those of Buddhism would have looked askance at some of the tribal customs and practices, such as animalism and super-naturalism, dormitory organisation and dance of men and women together. It was observed by them that tribalism was a mark of inferiority and should be replaced by civilised life-ways. With these limitations and constraints, we will have to proceed to consider the impact and influence of Buddhism on the tribal people of Orissa.

First, let us have a dip into the past in order to understand the historical perspective of this ancient land of Kalinga/Udra/Orissa vis-a-vis Buddhism. The military races of Kalinga kown as Udra-Kshatriyas in the later period are hinted in epics as a degraded race almost equal in rank to the Sudras. Areas east and south of Aryavarta, including Kalinga-Utkal region, were regarded as 'Mlechha Desh' in ancient time and a person of Aryavarta, if he visits this land had to undergo a process of penance (Prāyaśchitta) for purifying himself to return to the Aryan mainstream. This goes to show that the Kalingas and Utkals might have a non-Aryan origin. That means most of them were of tribal origin.

In the Asokan special Kalinga edicts it is recorded that Emperor Asoka after the devastating Kalinga war sincerely desired to have reconciliation with the people of Kalinga as well as with the 'Ātavikas' inhabitating

* Ex-Deputy Secretary, Department of Culture, Orissa.

this ancient land. Jaugarh in Ganjam District identified with the ancient Somapa was situated towards the border of the Atavika country and so the edicts of this place had special significance to the Atavika people. The word 'Ātavika' is derived from 'Atabi' which means hills. That means the Atabikas were the hill-dwelling tribes.

From the surface finds it is clear that Buddhism developed tremendously in the length and breadth of Orissa. Though the Master never visited this country during his life time, the first disciples of Lord Buddha were two Kalingan merchants, 'Tapas' and 'Vallika' who are considered the first lay Buddhists in the world. After Kalinga war this vast landmass came under Buddhist sway. Kalinga's contribution to Buddhism to make it a world religion is remarkable. The role of Orissa in the development of Buddhist Pantheon, particularly Vajrayana, is unique in the religious history of India in general and Orissa in particular.

During Kharavela's time Jainism flourished along with Buddhism and Brahmanism. Thus, round about the beginning of the Christian era there was co-existence of these three dominant religious faiths of Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism in Kalinga-Utkal region of Indian sub-continent. In course of time, all these fused into the original tribal worship of Nilamadhab (Kalinga/Jagata/Jagannath) to manifest as the cult of Jagannath in the present form. Jagannath is acknowledged as the Baudhavatar/incarnation of Lord Buddha. The relics/teeth of Buddha are said to be contained in the Brahma padartha (absolute matter kept within the Daru-Brahma) of the three deities of the Jagannath temple at Puri. That is why Puri is believed to be the ancient seat of Dantapur.

When the influence of Jainism declined with the fall of the Mahameghabahans, Buddhism rather than the struggling Brahmanism came to the forefront and if Orissa is regarded as the cradle of Mahayanism, it was here during the period of *first century B.C. to first century A.D.* that the *Semi-Mahayanic* tendencies in Buddhism made a definite turn giving rise to the full-fledged Mahayana system.

The kingdom of Kalinga was ruled by a non-Aryan king named 'Guha' round about the 3rd century A.D. Probably he is 'Guha-Siva' as mentioned in Baudha' *Dathavamsa*. The region of this non-Aryan King in Kalinga is corroborated by references in 'Satapatha Brahman' and Baudhayan Dharma Sutra'. The savararaj Guha or Guha-Siva was an exponent of Buddhism and was always apprehensive of the kings of neighbouring territories who would forcibly take away the 'Kalinga Bodhi'. So through his daughter 'Hemamala' and son-in-law 'Dantakunnar' he sent the sacred

relic or tooth of Lord Buddha which was preserved in Dantapur of his kingdom to Meghavarna or Meghabahana, king of Ceylon for its safe preservation in that island kingdom.

It is suggested by the Tibetan account that 'Sambhala' was ruled by king Indrabhuti, whose sister princess Lakshminkara was married to the son of Jalendra the ruler of Lankapuri. Dr. K.K. Kara and following him Dr. N.K. Sahu, identify 'Lanka' with Sonepur and 'Sambhala' with Sambalpur of Orissa. Dr. B.C. Majumdar and many other scholars identify these two places analogously with Dr. Kara and Dr. Sahu. These two places are situated in the western part of Orissa and within the tribal areas of the State.

Indhrabhuti in his Jnanasiddhi invokes the primal Buddha-'Vajra Sattva' as Jagannath in several places and his preceptor Ananga Vajra also describes this Buddha as Jagannath in *Prajñopaya Viniśchaya Siddhi.* Jagannath of these Buddhist texts is identified with Jagannath worshpped at Puri and many other temples of different places in Orissa by a number of scholars. Dr. K.C. Panigrahi explains Jagannath of these Tantric Buddhist texts as Lord of the Universe and does not accept its identity with the Lord Jagannath at Puri. He interprets this term of the Buddhist texts strictly in its literary sense and not in identity with this Supreme Orissan God. The word 'Jagadish' also means the Lord of the Universe and has been used by the Orissan poet Jayadeva in his '*Gita Govinda*' Kavya. Indrabhuti could have used this word in his text. Why did he prefer to use 'Jagannath' even in those days who was regarded as the incarnation of Lord Buddha? So much obsession of Indrabhuti and his preceptor Ananga Vajra to the word 'Jagannath' which conveys the meaning of the Lord of Universe but installed in the temple at Puri signifies beyond doubt, that Indrabhuti's kingdom 'Sambhala' and his sister's father-in-law's kingdom 'Lankapur' were within the Western tribal belt of modern Orissa where Trantric Buddhism flourished and reached its acme. Thus, Jagannath, a non-Aryan deity and Uddiyan, and Udrayan as referred to in Buddhist texts, all signify Orissa (with a sizeable tribal population in those days) as the classic land of the cult of Lord Jagannath, who is also accepted as Baudhavatar/incarnation of Lord Buddha.

The status of Buddhism in Orissa in the 16th century A.D. is known from the biography of Buddha Guptanath (Sans, rgyas, Sabas-Pa) who was Guru of Taranath, the Tebetan (Lama) and historian. This reputed Sadhu, who like many other Indian and Tebetan saints lived in a kind of mystic atmosphere, claims to have visited various places in India and outside in order to find out traces of Buddhism and Buddhist remains.

It is known from records that he visited Kalinga where Buddhist remains were in plenty, and then passing through Jarikhanda, he came to the land of Jagannath, which was then a great stronghold of Buddhism in India.

The Tibetan source, however, goes to corroborate the fact that Buddhism was prevalent in Kalinga, Jharakhanda and in the territory round about Jagannath as late as the 16th century A.D. In view of this, Adikavi Śūdra Muni Sārala Das in his *Mahabharat* (in Mushalee Parva) invokes Jagannath in the following verse :

"Baudha Avatār hoi abashya viharibu,
Dusta māriṇa santha jana pratipālibu".

[O' Lord ! you shall surely sport as Baudhavatar (Incarnation of Lord Buddha) shall destroy the wicked and take care of saintly people]. Sarala Das is a contemporary of Suryavanshi Gajapati Kapilendra Deva who was an exponent of Vaisnavism. But this Vaisnavism was not free from the influence of Tantric Buddhism as extolled by Buddha Guptanath vide his biography referred to above.

The influence of Buddhism on the tribal areas and tribal people of Orissa could be well assessed from the location of Buddhist centres in the close proximity of these areas. We find the following places associated with Buddhism which served as centres of Buddhist culture and religion in the past.

1.	(Undivided) Cuttack district	... Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, Lalitgiri, Solampur.
2.	(Undivided) Balasore district	... Jayarampur, Khadipada, Mohanapada, Ayodhya.
3.	(Undivided) Dhenkanal district	... Talcher (Buddhist image and mounds).
4.	(Undivided) Sambalpur district	... Ganiapalli and Gandhamardan Parbat.
5.	(Undivided) Mayurbhanj district	... Udala and Khiching area.
6.	(Undivided) Keonjhar district	... Sitabinjhhi.
7.	Puri district	... Dhauli, Achyutarajpur, Aragarh, Bhubaneswar, Astaranga.
8.	Ganjam district	... Jaugarh and some other places.
9.	Phulbani district	... Baudh Town, Shyamsundarpur and Paragalpur (in the newly constituted Boudh district).

But till now many places with Buddhist vestiges in the State remain unexplored. During ancient time the river route was one of the main sources of communication. Almost all the Buddhist sites discovered so far and mentioned above are near the banks of big rivers or their trilutaries and situated on the terrain of hillocks except Boudh. Buddhist centres of Khiching, Udala, Sitavinjhhi, Baud, G. Udayagiri, Vaneshwari Nasi, Gandhamardan Parbat are situated within or at the close proximity of tribal areas. This suggests that Buddhism when it was at its zenith would have definitely influenced the tribal people and their way of life, religious belief, rites, rituals, etc.

It can be traced in (Sahajayana) Tantric Buddhism. The whole yogic process of the Sahaja School is found to be based on a highly sublime aspect of the sex where the Sadhak is to embrace and sport with the female Shakti, called as the Chāndāli, Dombee, Savaree, Sahaja Sundaree, etc. From the names it appears that they belonged either to S.C. or S.T. communities. *Āscharya Charyāchaya* (10th-14th century A.D.) contains eloquent proof of this conclusion.

The language used in the *Ascharyacharyachaya* is claimed to be in the primitive Oriya form. The diction in this poem clearly suggests that Sahajayana/Tantric Buddhism had a strong base in the tribal belt of Orissa.

In the 'Lankavatara' of Vasubandhu (2nd half of the 4th century A.D.) magic formulae for protecting people against snakes, demons and ghosts of all kinds are to be seen, which signifies the use of Mantra/Tantra in Buddhism. In Adivasi societies even now-a-days there is ample use of Mantra/Tantra for protecting people against snakes, demons, ghosts, etc. The Tantric acts like Marana, Mohana, Sthambhan, Vidweshan, Ucchatan and Vashikaran and also Pancha Makara - Madya (Liquor), Māṇsa (Meat), Matsya (Fish), Mudrā, Maithuna, etc. found in the texts of Tantrayana are in prevalence and use in almost all the tribal societies of Orissa. It is upto Tantric and Buddhist scholars to subscribe to this view or to refute whether Tantric Buddhism was influenced by tribalism or vice-versa.

Lastly some special attributes noticed in the Buddhist images found at the Buddhist centres located in a tribal area of Orissa deserve mention, I cite the example of Khiching situated in the tribal district of Mayurbhanj. The medieval Khijjingakotta, known at present as Khiching, was the early capital of Mayurbhanj and it was once the centre of great artistic activities. Excavations carried here from time to time during the twenties of the present century disclosed the remains of a group of old temples of which two were elaborately ornamented with scroll and figure works.

An image of Marichi discovered from Khiching is preserved in Baripada Museum. This image is a life-like figure and appears to have been carved out of a single piece of granite. It stands in *Alidha* pose on a chariot drawn by seven sows. Dragging or driving a chariot employing sows is significant from tribal point of view. In its four right hands it holds thunder-bolt, club, quick-arrows and a needle while in its four left hands it holds Asoka flower, bow and thread while displaying a Tarjani mudra in one hand.

The worship of Marichi was very popular in Mayurbhanj particularly in the Udala area, and two of the images of this Goddess obtained from this region are lodged in the Baripada Museum.

References

1. *Buddhism in Orissa* : By Dr. N.K. Sahu, M.A., Ph.D. - Published by Utkal University, 1958.
2. *Sahajayana* : By Rama Prasad Mishra - Published by Punthi Pustak, 136/48, Bidhan Sarani, Calcutta-700 004, First Edition, 1991.
3. *Puratana Kalingara Samajika Itibrita* - Dr. Beni Madhab Padhi - Published by Grantha Mandir, Binod Bihari, Cuttack-2, First Edition, 1992.
4. *Adivasi Sanskrit 'O' Sahitya*, Dr. Mahendra Kumar Mishra - Published in 'Saptarshee' 20th year, 11th-12th issue, November-December, 1991.
5. *Pracheena Odia Kabita Sambhar*, compiled and edited - Prof. Jatindra Mohan Mohanty, Sahitya Sansthan, Bhubaneswar, 1989.

Buddhism and Social Harmony

Bijayananda Kar*

It is held that Buddhism as a religio-philosophical approach to life continues to have a strong impact at least in the Asian Continent. The social life of different nationals belonging to Asia is found to have been influenced by the religio-philosophical message of Buddhism. The Buddhist's emphasis on the 'middle path' *(Madhyamā pratipat)*, avoiding two extreme steps like self-indulgence and self-mortification, it is said, has placed man on the right track of normalcy and thus a life of morality is recommended that is quite plausible in the practical context.

Quite often it is said that the Four Noble Truths *(Catvāri Ārya Satyāni)* are not simply indicative of the dark side of life. The advocacy of such principles, it is argued, has not given rise to a sadistic outlook. The propagation of the eight fold Noble Path *(aṣṭānga mārga)*, it is held, does not suggest to adopt rigid, puritanic moral codes which are quite obsolete in the present situation. Those ethical prescriptions are suitable and relevant in any age on account of their intrinsic sense of sustenance. The emphasis on *Śīla* or right conduct is a definite mark of moral excellence and that has placed the Buddhistic view of life at a prestigious level. The adoption of *Pañca Śīla* (five basic principles of conduct) has been extended now-a-days to the domain of socio-political relations between different nations and political units. The concept of *Nirvāṇa*, it is pointed out, does not suggest pessimism, negativism and nihilism but, on the contrary, it indicates a state of illumination resulting through the critical analysis of concept.

But, despite these encouraging remarks advanced from different quarters, the critical attitude towards Buddhism is no less conspicuous. The central message of Buddhism, 'everything is painful' *(sarvam duhkham)*, no doubt, is the mark of a radical sadistic outlook. The entire human existence is belittled here having no scope for happiness and bliss. It seems that pain, in this context, is given a different connotation in the Buddhistic framework. Whatever is ordinarily felt as joy or happiness seems to have been redefined here as an implicit form of pain and miseries. By way of decrying the whole of human life as nothing but painful, this Buddhistic attitude seems to have left no scope for a cordial social living based on peace and harmony. For, at the ordinary setting,

* Professor of Philosophy, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.

there is always disagreement among individuals to regard the empiricial state of joy and happiness as really painful on account of its trasitoriness. It is said, in this connection, that viewing everything as painful definitely accelerates an attitude of pessimism, negativism and an attitude of dejection towards social living at the empiric setting. It never creates an urge to move forward, to have the continuance of positive hope and aspiration. Is it that everying is nothing but painful? It never creates an urge to move forward, to have the continuance of positive hope and aspiration. Is it that everying is nothing but painful ? The sense of pain clearly anticipates a sense of pleasure and without the latter the former becomes barren and otiose.

Of course, it can be marked that Buddhism never stops by declaring everying as painful. It also prescribes the means to overcome the pain and sufferings. By identifying the desire or *Kāmanā* as the root of all sorts of pain, it suggests complete removal of desire and craving *(Tanhā)*. *Nirvāṇa* is said to be the state of cessation of suffering. But, if Nirvāṇa is understood as a state of total extinction or complete blowing out, then in what sense does it make one conscious of his attaining cessation of suffering, is not quite clear. *Nirvāṇa* is said to be the state of *sūnyatā* or void. But how can the state of complete nothingness be conceived at all ? This obviously remains as a point of obscurity. Moreover, in what sense the so-called state contributes towards social harmony and peace remains somewhat vague.

In this context, an attempt has been advanced in certain circles to give a positive rendering of the concept of *Nirvāṇa* as well as *Śūnyatā*. From that point of view, the state of complete cessation of pain and suffering at the psychological level does not indicate the sense of complete void in the literal sense of the term. It rather suggests a psychological state of calmness based on balanced outlook where the individual is no more purturbed or is in a state of strife and tension. But, even if such a state is attained, the basic question as to what extent it becomes contributive towards the attainment of social peace and harmony is not, perhaps, suitably met. For, one can easily conceive the state of balanced calmness in different situations when one is reasonably dispassionate and is quite free from any strife and tension. To attain that state, total void seems to be not necessary at all. Ordinarily when one reports that he is in a vacant mood, it obviously does not imply that such a state is the state of absolute nothingness. Hence, conceptual difficulty seems to persist in properly accounting for the state of *Śūnyatā*. Simply maintaining that this state is not ordinary but extraordinary appears to be rather evasive.

There have been attempts to interpret the Buddhist concept of *Nirvāṇa,* the state of absolute cessation of suffering neither in a positive nor in a negative sense. If the Vedantic concept of *ānanda* is regarded to be foreign to the Buddhistic foundation, then equally the attribution of abolute nothingness or total extinction is also not admissible. Because such a negative formulation is also some sort of characterisation which the Buddhist's singular emphasis on complete silence perhpas does not permit. In this regard, it has been proposed that *Śūnyatā,* as the off-shoot of silence, is rather beyond all description or characterisation, either positive or negative. Any sort of speculative surmise here cannot be plausibly entertained within the Buddhistic framework. But, if this is the ultimate goal of 'know not what' to which the Buddhist point of view is directed then its significance at the mundane social set-up remains hardly significant. For, social harmony virtually is an issue at the practical front of empiric setting. It is never designed to either raise or to solve issues concerning the ultimate nature of reality. In that sense even *Nirvāṇa* or *Śūnyatā,* as offering eternal or permanent solution to the problem of peace or social harmony in the human context is, perhaps, not clearly decisive.

Recently another attempt has been advanced by certain Buddhist scholars to interpret the Buddhist point of view not in terms of metaphysical alternatives like positivism, negativism and agnosticism (as indicated above) but as a typical form of philosophical analysis *(Bibhāja Vāda).* It is said that by pursuing the method of analysis of different concepts, the Buddhistic point of view arrives at the state of essencelessness of anything whatsoever *(nisva bhāva).* This significant point is well expressed in the famous Buddhist doctrine of *anātmavāda.* By means of critically analysing the different concepts, this conclusion seems to have been reached. It is the crave for essence or the ultimate *sattā* which is the root of all psychic strain and strife. *Śūnyatā* is here interpreted neither as void nor as positive bliss but as a state of conceptual illumination where one becomes aware of the pitfalls created due to conceptual confusion and misunderstanding. It is because of misguided picture-thinking, false and imaginative speculative surmises are entertained in the conceptual plane and due to lack of proper analysis, misunderstanding of the serious nature results and that indirectly becomes the ground of social dissension and disharmony. It is further remarked, in this connection, that social cohesion and international understanding can be attained by taking recourse to this Buddhist method of conceptual analysis.

But, if the doctrine of pure being or essence *(sattā)* is viewed as speculative on wholistic ground because of its advocating eternalism

(Śāśvatavāda), then the doctrine of becoming as non-eternalism *(Kṣaṇabhaṅgavāda)*, pointing at the essencelessness of everything seems to be equally speculative on the other side. If that which is everlasting *(trikālābādhita)* is metaphysical, then that which is momentary, that alone is real *(yat kṣaṇikam tat sat)* is, perhaps, also metaphysical in the same strain. For, both the views seem to have been centred around on some sort of abstract metaphysical speculation about the conceptual framework, though of divergent types. Therefore, to regard one as metaphysical and the other as analytical is, probably, not convincing. Both the approaches have some form of ontological commitment and, in order to reach such conclusion, both have taken resort to some form of analytical procedure, of course in their own way of preference. Now, in the ultimate ontological sense, to whatever view one is committed, whether essentialism or non-essentialism, in neither case there is anything left conspicuously that is of direct, immediate relevance for the issue of social harmony.

Why is not then one to look to the Buddhist point of view from a different perspective ? Buddha's silence to the ten metaphysical questions may be taken here as highly pertinent. It is not for nothing that he kept himself away from making any response (either positive or negative) to such abstract metaphysical queries. He did not thereby suggest his ignorance or even indifference. He, primarily being an individual of having maximum human concern, could not have afforded to bypass and neglect the several vital issues and problems that man faces at the practical front. Instead of moving for a dry theoretical logic chopping and for undergoing almost an unending speculative debate concerning the realm of metaphysical transcendence, he has shown his preference to the moral and ethical issues that confront man in this empiric existence. How to build up a life free from all sorts of moral lapses seems to be his central mission and that is why he has clearly avoided all sorts of metaphysical jargons.

From this perspective, the concept of *Nirvāṇa* as well as *Śūnyatā* can be rendered, perhaps, better. *Nirvāṇa* does not suggest any transempiric state of absolute peace, but to remain composed and balanced in the empiric setting following the tract of morality in the best possible manner and thereby contributing one's own share for the betterment as well as consolidation of humanity at large. *Śūnyatā,* in this context, means no more craving for sensuous desires and passion *(tanhā)* but to remain firm with the track of morality that is of profound humanistic significance. In this way, the Buddhistic message does contribute effectively to social harmony and peace and can be of universal appeal.

In the world today, one notices the presence of distrust and animosity not only among different nations but even among different people belonging to the same nation. Countries are bifurcated, trifurcated and even more, to the extent that the original country becomes extinct almost. At the social level, there is abundance of disbelief, hatred and jealously among the individuals and consequently the human values face the gravest challenge today. At this critical juncture, a decent living, based on simplicity and socially moral foundation is surely of vital significance and it need not be belittled as merely a thing of the past.

Little known Buddhist Sites and Monuments in Western Orissa

Mahesh Prasad Dash*

More than a thousand ancient sites and monuments throughout the state of Orissa have not been properly surveyed as yet. Only a few important sites and monuments of places like Jajpur, Ratnagiri, Lalitgiri and Udayagiri, Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konark have been surveyed and reported by eminent scholars like Markham Kittoe, Prinsep, R.L. Mitra, M.M. Chakravarti, N.N. Vasu, M.M. Ganguli, R.P. Chanda, R.D. Banerjee, Pandit B. Mishra, late P. Acharya, Dr. K.C. Panigrahi, Shri K.N. Mohapatra and a few others. Due to the existence of a few princely states archaeological survey in Western Orissa could not make satisfactory progress. The District of Sambalpur, though a British District, could not receive as much attention as it deserves due to its existence among those princely states. It was only during the long British rule over Orissa that two eminent archaeologists namely Alexander Cunningham and J.D. Beglar surveyed a few important places like Ranipur Jharial, Titilagarh, Rajpadar (Belkhandi) and Amatghat, etc. during 1874-75.

Within a century many sites and monuments have been spotted in western Orissa. Here is given a brief note on those Buddhist finds.

Titilāgarh

Titilāgarh which is now an important centre of trade on the Raipur and Vijayanagaram track of the S.E. Railways was a Buddhist centre in ancient time. Its name is derived from the word Ṭitilāgaḍa or three storeyed fortress, which was actually a Buddhist monastery. Large number of bricks measuring 16" x 8" x 3" are found near a mound under the fort of a hill called Kumuḍā (of the shape of a Pumpkin), which was a Buddhist stūpa. It has now disappeared here due to constant digging during the century. Fragments of stone images are found scatterred here. In the subsequent period this Buddhist Vihāra was converted into a Hindu monument.

Amātghāt

Amātghāt is situated on the south bank of river Tel on the old road leading from Kalahāndi to Sambalpur. Extensive ruins of brick structures

* Ex-Superintendent, State Archives, Orissa.

are found in the dense Sal and Teak forest which has now grown over the whole area, but a glance at the scattered ruins will still indicate the existence of a Buddhist monastery at this strategic place, but nothing definite can be said unless a systematic exploration and excavation of the site is made.

Po-lo-mo-lo-kili

The credit of identifying Po-lo-mo-lo-kili of Hiuen Tsang's account with the Gandhamardan range on the border of Bolangir and Sambalpur district goes to Shri K.N. Mohapatra, who wrote an article on it in a now defunct English Magazine called the *Vaitarani* in 1936.[1] This paper was subsequently re-edited in 1971 and published in another magazine called 'New Aspects of History of Orissa'. In this paper he has proved convincingly that the capital of Kosala country was somewhere near Ranipur Jharial and Knsil of the present Bolangir district.[2] The remains of the famous monastery where Nagarjuna Bodhisattva was living can still be seen on the slope of the Gandhamārdan Hill. Subsequently the importance of this Buddhist centre was eclipsed due to the building of Brahmanical temples on both sides of the Bill. The present Narasinghanāth temple on Sambalpur side was built by Baijala Deva II of the Chauhan family of Patna. The exact date of construction of the temple is 17th March, 1413 as calculated by Shri Mohapatra[3] on the basis of an Oriya inscription found three. The temple of Hariśaṅkara on the other side of the Hill belongs to the same period. Charles Luis Fabri who thoroughly surveyed the surrounding of the Narsinghanāth temple has been able to find out some Buddhist structures in this locality.[4] This Gandhamārdan Hill gained prominence in Orissa due to its elaborate description given in the *Mahābhārata* by Sāralā Das (1460 A.D.) and *Dānḍī Rāmāyana* by Balarām Das, *Nrusingha Purāṇa* by Kandha Joga Das of the 18th century A.D. The glory and greatness of Po-lo-mo-lo-kill or Parimalagiri which is now lost into oblivion can be brought to light by systematic exploration and Excavation at important selected sites.

Patnagarh

The town of Patnagarh which formed the capital of the Chauhan territory from the 14th century A.D. was a Buddhist centre. Charles Fabri, who thoroughly surveyed the place, remarks that many fragments and pieces of many of Buddhist buildings are incorporated in the 7th century A.D.

Ganiapali

The credit of discovering two old Buddhist images called "Siddhārtha Muni" and 'Nāga Muni' in a tiny village of Ganiāpāli in the Melchhāmundā

police station of Bargarh District goes to Mr. Charles Fabri. Fabri says : "The image of Buddha in the pose of first Sermon at Sarnath is probably the one so far known in Orissa". The other image called Naga Muni has been satisfactorily identified by Mr. Fabri with Muchalinda Buddha "and coils of the benevolent and worshipful serpent king are genuine though clumsily smothered by the cement layer at the top".[5] In his opinion the images of the Muchalinda Buddha are rare and the occurrence of one in north west Orissa is a matter of wonder. He has argued that the name Melchhāmunda is a distortion of Muchalinda which seems quite reasonable.[6] He has also been able to find a stone *Maṇḍapa* with two early and simple broken pillars of extreme classicial simplcity and many signs of ancient brick work in the neighbourhood. His opinion on the importance of this site may be profitably quoted here : "And as the bricks and fragments of the bricks spread almost countinuously from the Muchalinda shrine to this Pile of stone ruins, it is justifiable to conclude that we have a very large ancient establishment underground, with a considerable life, perhaps from the early centuries of this era to about the 5th and 6th century A.D."[7]

Mahādev Pāli

The little temple called 'Śivaji Mandir' situated in a small village called Mahadev Pali about 4 kms. beyond Laidā police station in the District of Sambalpur is built on the ruins of an early Buddhist shrine, materials of which have been utilised in the construction of the present temple.[8]

Buddhism in Western Orissa under the Early Somavaṁsī Kings

Up till now we have come across two Buddhist records which are very significant regarding the spread of Buddhism in Western Orissa. One is the Bhandak Buddhist Inscription[9] and the other is Senākapāt inscription of the time of Śiva Gupta Bālārjuna.[10] The inscription found at Bhandak is purely a Buddhist record and the first four verses of this record glorified and invoked the protection of Lord Buddha under the name of Jina. It gives an account of the patronage shown to Buddhism by the early Somavaṁśī king of Śrīpur. From the concluding portion we get the name of Nannaraja who was a very powerful king as is known from his Adhabhara plates.[11] In this inscription he claims overlordship over the entire Kosala and Utkal countries for his father Tibara Deva of the 7th century A.D. *(Svabhuja Parākrama Upārjita Sakala Kośala Utkalādi Maṇḍalādhipatya)*. Therefore it may be accepted that Buddhism flourished at least in the western parts of Orissa as early as 7th century A.D.

Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna who was a very powerful king of the Soma dynasty and ruled for more than 50 years also showed patronage to

Buddhism though he was a Saiva, as is known from his Śrīpur stone inscription.[12] This inscription opening with a praise of Lord Buddha records the construction of a Vihara or Buddhist Monastery by a famous Vikshu named Ānanda Prabhā during the reign of Bālārajuna. Bālārjuna was the master of the entire western Orissa and occupied as far as the border of Puri District which is known from the frgmentary Govindapur inscription of his younger brother Rana Keshari, dated 1811 V.S.[13] The exact date of the inscription has been calculated by Shri K.N. Mohapatra as 9th January 1754.[14]

Buddhism in Western Orissa during the Early Bhauma Kings

The Bhauma kings had extended their empire up to Sonepur. The earlier kings of this family were Parama Saugata or great Buddhists. It is due to their patronage that we come to notice some colossal Buddha images in the Vihārs at Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitgiri. One colossal image of Buddha in sitting posture, which still requires wide publicity is found at a place called Paschimesvara just on the bank of the Brahmani river only three miles from the town of Talcher. It is not a monolithic image but made of several blocks of stones joined together. This was definitely a site of Buddhist Monastery now no more in existence and near which a Hindu temple has been built.

Near the coal-field of Talcher there is a place called Jagatri where from three copper plate grants of Bhauma kings Śubhakara and Śivakara were discovered and have been edited by Pandit Binayak Mishra.[15] According to Pandit Mishra this was the site of the Buddhist Monastery called Jayāsrama Vihāra which is no more in existence. The name of this Vihāra finds mention in the copperplate grants.

The colossal image in the heart of the town of Boud resembles in all respects the image of Buddha found at Paśchimeśvara. The position of Buddha at Boud clearly indicates that it was being worshipped in a small Buddhist monastery, the foundations of the walls of which were traceable over the ground up to 1966. It is also worth writing that two copper plate grants of the powerful Bhauma queen Tribhuban Mahadevi were discovered from a site near this Buddhist Vihara.[16] According to the calculation of Pandit Mishra Tribhuban Mahādevi is assigned to 764 A.D. Thus it is clear that Buddhism flourished in Western Orissa under the patronage of the early Somavamsi kings like Mahānamrāja and Mahaśiva Gupta Bālārjuna and the early kings of the Bhauma dynasty like Khemakara who was Paramaupāsaka, Śivakara-I, who was Paramaththāgata and Śubhankara Dev-I who was a Parama Saugata.

Besides the colossal image of Buddha, two exquisite Bronze images of Maitreya and Lokesvara have been found from Boud, which have been described by Dr. N.K. Sahoo[17] in his monumental work (with the plates No. 52 and 53). It is further known from the same work that Buddhist figures both Mahāyānic and Tantric are found in large number within the compound of the Rāmeśvara Temple but many of these are either broken or covered with thick layers of vermillion.

Tantric Buddhism in Western Orissa

Indrabhuti who is recognised as the founder of the Vajrayana form of Buddhism laying stress on the worship of five Dhyanī Buddhas called himself Uddyana Vimirāgata or hailing from Uḍḍiyāna. This Uḍḍiyāna which was, cradle of Tantric Buddhism has been satisfactorily identified with Orissa by Dr. N.K. Sahoo. Two other significant territories, one called Sambhala over which Indrabhati ruled and the other known as Lankapura which was under Jalendra, whose son married the famous Princess Lakshminkarā, the sister of Indrabhuti are associated with Uḍḍiyāna. Sambhala and Lankapura have been identified with Sambalpur and Sonepur respectively by Dr. N.K. Sahoo in his work.[18] The goddess Lankeśwari who is referred to in some of the Tantric Sadhanas of the famous works *Sādhana Mālā* is even now regarded as the presiding deity of Sonepur area and she is daily worshipped in the bed of the Mahanadi on a low rock called Lankeśvari on which a short inscription inscribed in the character of the 9th and 10th century is still to be seen.

One of the famous Tantric Siddhas called Jayadratha who translated. *Chakra Sambara Tantra* into Tibetan is said to have been a man of Lanka which is identical with Sonepur. Thus Tantric Buddhism gained great popularity in western Orissa.

We find an old temple of Lankeśvari at Junāgarh on the bank of the river Tel, 21 Kms. to the west of the town of Bhawanipatna, the headquarters of the present Kalahandi district. Junagarh was the Capit;al of the Kalahandi kingdom ruled by the Naga kings till the Headquarters was shifted to Bhawanipatna in 1949. The deity of Lankesvari is held in high estimation by the people of this region as she was the tutelary deity of the Naga Rayal family of Kalahandi State. Every year on the Mahastami day a great festival is held here in which thousands of goats, cocks, pigeons, buffaloes are killed for propitiation before the deity. The Lankeswari worship spread from Sonepur as both the towns are situated on the bank of the river Tel.

The preachings of Lakshminkarā, the celebrated founder of the Sahajayāna form of Buddhism made deep influence in Western Orissa. Among the

followers of Lakshminkarā the following seven female Tāntrikās, namely Gyāna Dei Māluni, Netei Dhobani, Lahukuti Lahuruni, Sukuti Chamruni, Sua Teluni, Gāngi Gauduni, Patarapindhi Sauruni became famous in this area for their miraculous activities. It is said that their place of activities was Kuānri Patnā or Kumari Patna which was situated somewhere near Patnagarh. This region was called Kuanri Patna even up to the time of the poet Chaitanya Das of Khariar who flourished in the second part of the 17th century A.D.[19] According to tradition Chodaganga Deva, the builder of the Ganga Empire, received help from Netei Dhobani. Many Mantras written by these Sādhikās (female Tantrikas) are still recited for curing diseases and for giving relief from snake bites in this area.

Buddhism which began to decline in the 9th and 10th centuries was completely amalgamated into the fold of Hinduism during the Somavamsi rule over Kośala and Utkala (c. 900 to 1112 A.D.) and consequently many ancient Buddhist sites and monuments were converted to Hindu ones in such a manner that it is very difficult to distinguish them at present.

Now that a separate university has been established at Sambalpur, schemes for thorough Archaeological Exploration of ancient Buddhist sites and monuments of this region may be implemented without any further delay by its History Department. The means of communication have tremendously improved during the last decade which facilitates such survey by devoted scholars. The History of Orissa will remain incomplete until and unless light is thrown on these ancient relics; because the river Mahanadi, the Ganga of Kalinga, served as the link for the spread of culture from Western Orissa to coastal Orissa through centuries.

References

1. Vaitarani : Vol. X. No. 5 (July 1936).
2. *New Aspects of the History of Orissa* (Sambalpur University) 1971, pp. 64-71.
3. Orissa Historical Research Journal. Vol. III. No. 3 (1954) pp. 137-45.
4. Fabri. *History of the Art of Orissa.* pp. 37-40, 70, 103, 109.
5. Fabri, *History of the Art of Orissa.* p. 34.
6. Ibid. pp. 34-35.
7. Fabri, *History of the Art of Orissa.* pp. 35-36.
8. Ibid. p. 36.
9. S.N. Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa.* Vol. IV pp. 287-95.
10. Ibid. pp. 47-54.
11. Ibid. pp. 39-42
12. Ibid. pp. 43-46.

13. B. Mishra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*. p. 74.
14. Manuscripts on History of Orissa.
15. B. Mishra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*. pp. 32-52.
16. They have been edited by Shri S.C. De, Ex-Superintendent of Archives in E.I. Vol. XXX.
17. Dr. N.K. Sahoo, *Buddhism in Orissa*. pp. 203-204.
18. Ibid. p. 142.
19. (a) Dr. N.K. Sahoo, *Odisara Buddha Dharma*. p. 48.
    (b) Refer also *Sankshipta Kosala Itihasa* by R.C. Mallick.

Representation of 'Vyāpti' in Buddhist Logic with Special Reference to *Jñānaśrīmitranivaṇdhāvali*

P.K. Mishra*

I. Jñānaśrīmitra (JM) (c. 11 century A.D.) happens to be the link between two great logicians Vacaspati Mishra and Udayanācārya; a disciple of Acarya Dharmapāla; belongs to *yogācāra-vijñānavāda* school of Maitreyanāthapāda.

The work *Jñānaśrīmitranivanddhāvali* of JM is a long discussion on different dimensions of Buddhist philosphy in about 580 long pages which highlights twelve topics such as *kṣanabhaṅgādhyāya, vyāpticarca, bhedābhedaparīkṣā, anupalabdhirahasyam, sarvasabdābhāva carca, āpohaprakaraṇam, īśvaravādah, kāryakāranabhāvasiddhiḥ, yoginiranayaprakaraṇam, advaitabinduprakaraṇam, sākārasiddhiśāstras and sākārasamgrahasūtram.* JM takes the opinion of Vācaspati, Bhāsarvajña, Trilocana and criticises them. Besides he quotes Śankara twenty-four times as the opponent.

This work makes an attempt to expose the concept of *Vyāpti* of JM in a nutshell.

II. Background of *Vyāpti*

As it is evident, the problem of knowledge poses the major important constituent of all the systems. Generally inference is quite common among the others except the *Ajitajinakeśakambalin* or the *lokāyatikas.* Gautama the champion of *anumāna* principle accepts the five steps of operation - *pratijñā, hetu, udāharaṇa, upanaya* and *nigamana* (N.S. I.I. 32). Hairsplitting discussions follow on this problem of inference.

Out of them a strikingly important device is *vyapti.* Even if it is not coined by Gautama, yet it has become the centre of inference being popularised by subsequent commentators. Visvanatha Bhatacharya in his vṛtti of I.I. 34-35[1] aphorisms introduces vyapti as —

> *sādharmyamanvayaḥ, vaidharmyam vyatirekaḥ*
> *tādṛśa vyāptir iti phalitārthaḥ*

Tarkasaṁgraha puts this simply as follows : Inferential knowledge is the knowledge which arises from consideration *(parāmarśa).*

* Department of Sanskrit, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.

Consideration *(parāmarśa)* is the knowledge that the reason or the middle term is in invariable concomitance with the major term, abides in the minor term, e.g. "This hill has smoke which is in invariable concomitance with the fire". Invariable concomitance *(vyāpti)* is the constant association of the middle term with the major term, e.g. whenever there is smoke, there is fire. *Pakṣadharmatā* refers to the fact that the smoke abides in the hill.

Gangeśa, the father of *navyanyāya*, tries of define under the hairsplitting distinction of five types, *vyāptipañcaka*. Without entering into the details, those types of vyāpti can be understood by such expressions as pervasion, inseparable connection, perpetual attendance, constant co-presence etc.

Now it may be acceptable that *vyāpti* of Nayāyikas is based on *Sādharmya* and *vaidharmya*. In other words it is *anvaya* and *vyatireka* or still in other ways, it is *vyabhicāra* and *sahacāra* which can be said as the constant co-presence or the invariable concomitance or otherwise as difference and agreement.

Bhāsarvajña puts this as inseparable connection. Keśavamiśra in *Tarkabhāṣā* puts this objectively in a simpler way; "*agnimatvam* (fire) is *sādhya* and *dhūmavatvam* (smoke) is the hetu. Here the hetu happens to be *anvayavyatireka*. Because the *vyāpti* occurs on the basis of *anvaya* and *vyatireka* the agreement and difference. The *anvayāvyāpti* is here affirmitive invariable concomitance and *vyatireka* is negative invariable concomitance. Examples —

anvayavyāpti : *yatra yatra dhūmavatvam tatra tatra agnimatvam yathā mahānase.*

The smoke and fire are affirmatively invariable in the kitchen.

Svarūpa vyāpti: *yatra agnir nāsti tatra dhūmo'pi nāsti yathā mahāhrade.*

The smoke and fire are negatively invariable in the pond. The order or *Krama* can be found from depiction of Kumārila where he clarifies regarding the presence of positive presence and negative presence of *vyāpyas* and *abhāva-vyāpyas* respectively.[2] The variability of the concomitance is being invariable in *anvayavyāpti* and vice versa.

III. Buddhist concept of *Vyāpti*

The scope of vyāpti is again expanded in the hands of Buddhist logicians. One cannot only reason from smoke to fire, but also from cloven hoofs to the horns.

Dingnāga (c. 450-520 A.D.) first discovered the universal, invaribale or inseparable connection between the middle and the major terms which is called *vyāpti* in Sanskrit and *Khyab* in Tebetan.[3]

The Buddhist concept of *vyāpti* draws the concomitance between major term and middle term if the former stands to the latter in causal relation *(kāryakāraṇa)* or the relation of identity *(svabhāva)*. Dharmakīrti on the other hand markes 3 *rūpas/*3 *lakṣanas* namely identity, causality and non-perception *(anupalabdhi)*. The Bauddhas have refuted the stand of Carvaka on the basis of *tādātmya tadutpatibhyām, avinābhāvasya sujñānasya/-*

Invariable concomitance is easily cognisable by means of negation, identity and causality. Dharmakīrti in *Pramāṇa vārtika* mentions —

> *Kāryakāraṇabhāvād vā niyāmakād*
> *avinābhāvaniyamo darśana na darśanāt //* I.33.

From the relation of cause and effect, or from identity as a determinant results a law of invariable concomitance not through the mere observaton of the desired result in similar cases, nor through the non-observation of it in dissimilar cases."

The *avinabhāva* relation is nothing but the *anvayavyatireka relation.* Madhavacarya says that *anvayavyatirekau avinābhāvaniscāyakau iti pakṣe sādhyasādhanayor avyabhicāro durabhidhārano bhavet/*

On the hypothesis (of the Nayāyikas) that it is concomitance and non-concomitance (e.g. A is where B is - A is not where B is not) that determines an invariable connection, the unconditional attendance of the major or the middle term would be unascertainable, it being impossible to exclude all doubt with regard to instances past future and present but unperceived.

The reason for taking recourse to inference is based on doubt. Udayana speaks in *Nyāyakusumāñjali :*

> *Śaṁkāced anumās tveva na cetchaṅkā tatas tarām /*
> *vyāghāta vadhirāsaṁkā tarkaḥ śaṁkāvaddhirataḥ* // III. 7.

"If there be doubt, there is inference, still more if there be no doubt. Discussion is allowed by all to stop fears, since fear is limited by direct inconsistency".

tadutpatti :

Again *avinābhāva* is determined on the basis of *tadutpatti. tasmat tadutpattin niścayenāvinā bhāvo niściyate/* It is analogus to *asmin sati idam bhavati* of *pratīyasamutpada* which is based on this being that

arises. By ascertainment of an effectuation, then, of that (viz. of the middlc) is ascertained the invariable concomitance (of the major); and the ascertainment of such effectuation may arise from the well-known series of five causes, in the perspective cognition or non-cognition of cause and effect. The fire and smoke, for instance stand in the relation of cause and effect is not ascertained by five indications, viz. 1. that an effect is not cognised prior to its effectuation. Example, seed and the spout, 2. that the cause being perceived, 3. that effect is perceived and that after the effect is cognised, 4. there is its non-cognition, 5. when the (material) cause is no longer cognised.[4]

tādātmya :

Similarly an invariable concomitance is ascertained *(nisciyate)* by the ascertainment of identity (e.g., a *sisu*-tree is a tree, or whenever we observe the attributes of a *sisu,* we observe also the attribute arboreity), an absurdity attaching to the contrary opinion, in as much as if a *sisu* tree should lose its arboreity, it would lose its own self. But, on the other hand, where there exists no absurdity and where a (mere) concomitance is again and again observed, who can exclude all doubt of failure in the concomitance ?[5] An ascertainment or the identity of *sisu* and tree is competent in virtue of the reference to the same object (i.e. predication). This tree is *sisu.* For reference to the same object (predication) is not competent where there is not difference whatever (e.g. to say, "A jar is a jar", is no combination of diverse attributes in a common object), because the two terms cannot, as being synonymous be simultaneously employed; nor can reference to the same object take place where there is a reciprocal exclusion (of the two terms) inasmuch as we never find, for instance, horse and cow predicated the one of the other.[6]

Dharmakirti in his *Nyāyavindu* speaks on the occasion of invariable concomitance or the three aspects of a valid logical mark, as follows :

1. Just its presence in the object cognized by inference.
2. Its presence only in similar cases.
3. Its absolute absence in dissimilar cases.

They can be termed as Negation, Identity and Causation.

Further, Dharmakīrti says : "The essence of a logical reason, in general, has been defined by us as consisting in its presence only in similar cases, and its absence from every dissimilar case. Further, we have specified that the causal and the analytical reasons must be shown to represent, (the first) an effect (from which the existence of a cause is

inferred), (the second, a necessarily co existing attribute) which alone is sufficient for deducing (the consequence). When the reasons are so represented, it is then shown that 1. wherever smoke exists, fire exists, like in a kitchen; if there is no fire, neither is there smoke, like in contrary cases, 2. whenever there is production there is change, like in a jar; if something is changeless, it is not a product, like space. It is, indeed impossible otherwise to show the existence (of the reason) in similar and its absence from (all) contrary cases with the qualification that we have introduced, viz. 1) the causal deduction (of the existence of a reason) necessarily follows from the existence of the effect, 2) the (analytically deduced) property is necessarily inherent in the fact representing the analytical reason. When this is shown, it is likewise shown what an example is, since its essence includes nothing else.[7]

IV. Jñānaśrīmitra's Concept

JM with the background of the long drawn concept of Buddhist *vyāpti* of identity, causality and negation enters to the issue of *vyāpti* where at the outset he meets Vacaspati on the occasion of the relation between fire and the smoke. Vacaspati says that this relation is not normal. The concomitance of smoke with fire is invariable whereas in case of contraposition of major premise concomitance is variable (in other words the converse is not true). Under these circumstances the natural relation between the major and the middle is denied. *vahnyādinām ārdrenchan ād upādhikṛta sambandhaḥ na tu svabhāvika/*[8]

These relations being examined with lots of possibilities are as follows:

i) Both fire and smoke have natural or conditional relation.
ii) Natural relation of fire and conditional of smoke.
iii) Conditional of fire and natural of smoke.

JM accepts the natural relation between both. The basis is frequent perception. The analogy is *abhijātamanitatva.* Further on an analogy of natural relation of *go* and *gotva,* the natural relation between fire and smoke is built to refute *sahacāra* and *vyabhicāra* of *vyāpti* in the long run considering *nayayikas* to be the *pradhānamalla/*the main opponent. Secondly the *tādātmya* or the identity is already in the background of Buddhist line of logic. But that is not found to be discussed directly. He cites the fallacy of *sandhigdhasādhya* for accepting irregular major. In conclusion of this discussion he says there is doubt in the perception and determinate knowledge does not come to rescue. *satadhāpy avybhicāradarsi purastāt sandehavān/* (p. 170). To support the necessity of *vyāpti* on the basis of doubt he quotes *Pramāṇa vārtika.*

avaśyam saṁkayā bhavyam niyāmakam apaśyatām / 3.324

Finally with a strong ground of refutations JM establishes *vyāpti* on the device of cognising *tadutpatti* or the causation. The case of *vyāpti* justifies as and when there is no scope of perception. *Bheda* is accepted to be the cause of *vyāpti,* which he says —

tasmāt bheda tadutpatti pratitir eva vyāptipratitiḥ / (p. 17)

To sum up, JM's refutation of Vacaspati's view on the relation of fire and smoke is on a parallel example of *ajohijātamanitatva* is abstruse again. But the argument of direct perception is acceptable.

Secondly, JM does not directly mention the details of *tādātmya* and *abhava* out of which *abhāva* may be suggested. But *tādāmtya* seems to ignore deliberately which appears to be a departure from Dharmakirti's view. The reasons may be as follows :

The case of *vyāpti* is from known to unknown and from some to all is a leap. But the case of *tādātmya* appears to be verbal and does not give any new information. As *tādātmya* is purely formal, no such knowledge is derived. Acceptance of *tādātmya* is a *śābdika* (verbal) and all that is *simsapa* is tree does not give any new information about *simsapa.* Here JM appears to avoid *tādātmyam* and accepts *tadutpatti* alone which gives the right attention on *vyāpti.* A further study on this would throw more light.

Reference

1. *Nyayavartika* of Visvanatha Bhattacharya - I.I. 34 - 35.
   sādharmyāt sadhanam hetuh I.I. 34.
   tatha vaidharmyāt I.I. 35.
2. Kumarila Bhatta, *Ślokavārtika* - 121 - 123.
3. K.C. Vidyabhusana, *History of Indian Logic*, Motilal Baranasi Das, Varanasi-1971 p. 292.
4. *Sarvadarśana Samgraha*, E.B. Cowell of A.E. Gough, Primal Publication, Delhi - 1986.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. P - 231 - Buddhist logic Th. Stcherh at style Daver Pub. Inc. New York. Vol. II. 1962.
8. *JM Nivandhāvali*, p. 163.

Books Referred

1. Jnanasrimitra Nivandhavali, K.P. Jayswal Research Inst. - 1987.
2. M. Hiriyara *Outlines of Indian Philosophy.* George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
3. S. Raddhakrishran - *Indian Philosophy* Vol. I, II London - 1970, 1971.
4. Rahul Samkrityayana - *Pramāṇa vārtika* Kitab Mahal, Allahabad.
5. E.B. Cowwell, *Nyāyakusumānjali* Caxton Publishers, Delhi - 1983.
6. Kesavamisra's *Tarkabhāṣā*, Motilal Banarasi Das, Varanasi - 1968.

Pratītya-Samutpāda and Anti-Essentialism : Some Theoretical and Practical Implications

G.C. Nayak*

According to the popular version *Pratītyasamutpāda* implies the causal law in accordance with which the evanescent momentary things appear. Candrakirti refers to this version of *Pratītyasamutpāda* as *'Pratiprati ityānām vināśinām samutpāda'*. *Pratītyasamutpāda* according to this version implies the temporal sequence of the entities between which there is a causal relation. This popular version of *Pratītyasamutpāda* is subjected to trenchant criticism by Candrakirti in his *Prasannapāda* on Nagarjuna's *Mūla Madhyama Kārikā.* A new version of pratityasamutpada is put forward by Candrakirti as follows :

'Hetupratyayāpekṣo bhāvānamutpādah pratīya samutpādārthaḥ'. Here there is no implication of temporal sequence of the entities between which there is a causal relation; it merely points to the dependence of one concept on another. Here I propose to concern myself with the further implications of this particular version of *Pratītya-samutpāda.*

An important consequence of viewing *pratītyasamutpāda* as a logical theory of inter-dependence of concepts instead of taking it as a theory of causation in the empirical world is that it is identified with *Śūnyatā* which in its turn is identified with *Niḥsvabhāvatā* and also with the *madhyamā pratipad,* thus making the entire Buddhist thought appear as one systematic and harmonious whole with a central message of its own, which to be precise enough, is not a message but a paradigm of philosophical activity. Here we are reminded of the famous Karika of Nagarjuna; *"Yah Pratītyasamutpādah śūnyatām tām pracakṣmahe, sā prajñaptirupādāya Pratipat saiva madhyamā'.* Mutual interdependence of concepts is according to Nagarjuna the same as Sūnyatā which is nothing but *niḥsvabhāvatā,* that is essencelessness of the concepts. If every concept is dependent on another for its intelligibility, how can any concept be regarded as having a fixed essence of its own ? One who understands *Pratītyasamutpāda,* that is mutual dependence or *Parasparāpekṣa* of concepts, therefore, understands that they are all *śūnya* or *niḥsvabhāva,* i.e. they do not have an independent and permanent essence of their own. This is also what Buddha means by

* Visiting Professor, Nagarjuna University, Nagarjuna Nagar, Andhra Pradesh.

madhyamapratipad according to Nagarjuna inasmuch as the realisation of the *Śūnyatā* or *nihsvabhāvatā* or essencelesness of concepts steers clear between extremes of speculative metaphysical positions regarding the *svabhāva* or the fixed nature of things and thus makes one adopt a middle course amongst the contending metaphysical theories.

Pratītyasamutpāda taught by Buddha is described in negative terminology by Nagarjuna as *anirodhamanutpādamanuchhedamaśāśvatam, anekārthamanānārthamanāgamamanirgamam'.* And this is the tattva, that is, the exact or the real nature of the case, according to the Mādhyamikas. *Pratītyasamutpāda* thus which is the same as *śūnyatā* being the *tattva* or the true significance of the concepts, one can not again meaningfully talk of its origination, destruction etc. When this is realised, there is freedom from essentialist thought-construction and craving of the mind, and that is why *tattva* is said to be *'aparapratyayaṃ śāntaṃ prapancairaprapancitaṃ'.* All these descriptions are not meant for any Absolute Reality transcending thought; they only describe the state-of-affair when one realises the *Śūnyatā or nihsvabhāvatā,* that is essencelessness of all our ideas and concepts. *Śūnyatā* which is identified here with *Pratītyasamutpāda* neither implies unreality of things as misconceived by T.R.V. Murti nor does it imply an Absolute as also misconceived by C.D. Sharma.

Tattva is said to be *Prapancaśūnya* and *nirvikalpa,* i.e. devoid of all speculations in the Madhayamika literature. But is not *'nirvāṇa'* also said to be *'Prapañcopaśama'* ? And what is 'nirvāṇa' but a state-of-affair where there is absolute cessation of metaphysical thought-construction on account of the realisation of *'svabhāvasūnyatā'* or essencelessness of all concepts ? It is therefore evident that *tattva* which is said to be *prapañca-śūnya,* does not refer to a transcendent Reality over and above the realisation of the *svabhāvaśūnyatā* of concepts. Once *'nihsvabhāvata'* of concepts is realised, the *tattva* is not further away, for *prepancasūnyatā* immediately and inevitably follows from the realisation of *'svabhāva-śūnyatā'.* And that is why *'pratītyasamutpāda'* itself is said to be *'prapancopaśama'* and *'śiva'* by Nagarjuna. Candrakirti's remarks in this connection are quite illuminating, *"Yathāvasthita pratītya samutpāda darśane sati aryanamabhidheyādilaksanasya prapañcasya sarvathōparmāt Prapañcānāmupaśamōsminniti sa eva pratītya samutpādah prapancopaśama ityucyate".* Stcher-batsky rightly sees that in the above passage Candrakirti identifies the realisation of *'pratītyasamutpāda'* with *Nirvāṇa.* His translation runs as follows : "It is also called Nirvāṇa, the Quiescence or equalisation of all plurality, because when it is critically realised there is for the philosopher absolutely no differentiation of

existence to which our words and concepts could be applied". The exact or the true nature of the case in question *(tattva)* therefore lies in *'Pratītyasamutpāda'* which is the same as 'sūnyatā' in the sense of *svabhāvaśūnyatā,* the realisation of which alone gives rise to *'prapañcaśūnyatā',* i.e. freedom from thought-constructions. So long as we are unable to realise the *'nihsvabhāvatā'* and so long as we are under wrong impression on account of entertaining an essentialist picture of concepts in our mind that things have a permanent and independent nature of their own, 'prapanca' or conceptual construction continues to be there. The truth or *'tattva'* however, is that neither is there any independent nature or *'svabhāva'* of things as conceived by the unenlightened nor is there any scope for conceptual construction, i.e. *'prapañca'.* The realisation of this truth is *'Prajñāpāramitā'. "Prajñā Yathābhutam artham Prajānāti", 'prajñā'* consists in knowing things as they are. T.R.V. Murti's view of *prajñā* as intuition is misleading, to say the least, for there is no Absolute Reality to be intuited here. It is better understood as insight into the nature of concepts as also things obtained through analysis resulting in freedom from all thought constructions.

Freeom from all sorts of metaphysical vagaries is the ideal here. One concept leads us to another, one idea leads to the other, and this is all right in its sphere. But metaphysicians make an illegitimate use of these concepts thereby falling into the trap of confusion. Philosophical insight consists in avoiding extreme metaphyscal positions by a perfect understanding of these concepts as *'sūnya'* or *'nihsvabhāva'.* The philosopher like a good shephered checks the metaphysical vagaries from taking the upper hand. That all sorts of metaphysical speculations are to be consistently avoided is clear from the following statment of Buddha - *'Astīti nāstīti ca kalpanāvatāmevam carantāna na duḥkha śāmyati'* i.e. those who speculate about existence and non-existence will never realise the cessaion of suffering. Freedom from these contending metaphysical theories is one of the salient features of philosophical insight *(Prajñā).* But this is possible through a realisation that there is no essence to hang upon or to cling to in our ordinary discourse which is merely conventionally useful. Once this is firmly entrenched in the mind, there is freedom from the bondage of essentialist picture-thinking *(sarvakalpanākṣayarūpa),* that is all.

Nirvāṇa is no different from this critical insight par excellence which is free from esentialist picture-thinking. Buddha fought consistently throughout his life against such picture-thinking because of which he remained silent over a number of questions regarding transcendental

reality. Buddha's silence has been variously misunderstood and misinterpreted as a sign of ignorance, scepticism, agnosticism, or a lack of concern for metaphysical issues and so on. But as a matter of fact it was nothing if not a consistent effort on his part to avoid all sorts of thought-constructions. Buddha is said to have adopted a middle course, a *madhyamāpratipat,* avoiding the extremes of metaphysical positions. Candrakirti also, true to this central idea of Buddha, lays emphasis on silence or *'tūsnīmbhāva'* as the *'paramārtha'. "Paramārtho hi āryānām tūsnīmbhāvah".* Here it is not the silence of agnosticism or of scepticism; it is the silence which is characteristic of a retreat from commitment consequent upon the dawning of *'prajñā'* or critical insight into the logical behaviour of concepts as 'sunya' or 'nihsvabhava'. It is not mere 'Prajna'; it is 'Prajna' or 'insight' par excellence *(prajñāpāramitā).* This I consider to be a unique contribution of Buddhism in general and Madhyamika thought in particular not only in the sphere of Indian Philosophy and culture but to the world of thought in general. In respect of anti-essentialism as well as retreat from commitment to metaphysical thought-constructions, there is a definite link between Early Buddhism and Later Buddhism which transcends the controversies amongst different schools, and here I have tried to highlight only those very aspects of Buddhist thought.

Freedom from the bondage of essentialist picture-thinking that is inculcated by the critical insight of *sūnyatā* being non-different from *prajñā,* can be conducive to peace both at the individual and the world level to the extent to which it is realised in the life of humanity at large. There are no doubt other salient factors, but our conflicts are in many cases due to our dogmatic clinging to essentialist thought-constructions. It would be no wonder, therefore, if the world were to become a much better place to live in when its intelligent inhabitants delibrately take to the practice of anti-essentialism as a form of life.

As the situation stands at present, it is essentialism, however, in some form or the other which seems to rule the roost in this *little* world of ours. Retreat from commitment to essentialist dogmas is at present simply a matter of faith, as it were, with a handful of people, and world peace is even now a far-off dream, so to say. A persistent training in, and practice of *'Śūnyatā'* in a large scale not only as a theoretical activity but also as a way of life, could be of some help in improving the present condition of the world.

It is interesting to note in this connection what Nietzsche has to say about our pet convictions and also about the way to greater peace and

harmony in the world. "If all those who thought so highly of their conviction, who made all manner of sacrifice for it and did not spare honour, body and life in their service of it, had only devoted just a half of their energies to studying the right they had to cling to this or that conviction, to the way in which they had arrived at it, how peaceable the history of man would look ! How much more knowledge there would be ! We would have been spared all those cruel seenes of the persecution of heretics of all types for two reasons : on the one hand, because the inquisitors would have interrogated themselves first and foremost and would have ceased to assume that they were defending the absolute truth; secondly because the heretics themselves would have abandoned their concern with such ill-founded propositions as are the propositions of all religious sectarians and 'true believers' after examining them". In my opinion, there is nothing intrinsically wrong about our convictions so long as they are not adhered to as essentialist dogmas or absolute truths. If conviction is 'firm belief, one may be convinced of something without being dogmatic or 'intolerantly authoritative'.

Convictions can lend colour and charm to our lives and may perhaps be useful so far as they go; it is only when they are intolerantly adhered to in an authoritative manner as absolute and unchangeable truths with an essentialist bias, that they turn out to be dogmas, delude and create problems for us. Nietzsche was evidently referring to such dogmas when he was speaking of conviction. The most important contribution of Buddhism to the world of thought lies in its exhortation to get rid of dogmas of all sorts including those that might arise due to our adherence to different 'ism's, even to Buddhism viewed as an 'ism' or to ***sūnyatā*** as a view *(dṛṣti)* with an essentialist bias. Nagarjuna's warning, in this connection is worth remembering - *"Vināśayati durdṛṣṭa śūnyatā maṇḍamedhasam, sarpo yathā durgṛhito vidyā vā dusprasādhitā."*

The Philosophical Foundations of Buddhism as Opposed to the Vedico-Upanishadic Ideology

G. Sundara Ramaiah*

Buddha the Founder of a New Dharma

In this paper I shall endeavour to trace out some of the philosophical doctrines upon which the entire edifice of Buddhism was built. Although it is possible to trace the roots of the Buddhist theories of Karma, rebirth, negation of soul, monastic life, embrace of voluntary poverty, and the rationalistic and humanistic approach in the Upanishads, it cannot be doubted that the system of early Buddhist thought bears the indelible stamp of the universe and powerful personality of Buddha. The ethical idealism and monasticism of early Buddhism testify to the moral temperament and austere personality of the founder. One of the greatest factors in the success and spread of Buddhism was the noble, sublime and compassionate character of the founder of the faith. Buddha is comparable in the mode of his life to the prophets who brought about an ethical reformation in Judaism in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. and Zoroaster who brought about a moralization of the ancient Persian religion. While some religions strove to project the unity or identity of the subjective and objective reality, Buddhism carries out the opposition between the subject and object to such an extent that it cannot admit their unity under any guise whatever and hence it is a religion without a God.[1]

Against the concept of the scriptural revelation *(Śruti Pramāṇa)* as maintained by Vedico-Upanishadic seers, Buddha stood for the sanctity of human intellect and reason. The sacrificial cults of the Vedic people appeared to Buddha as dull and senseless. Buddha advocated a dedicated purusit of moral endeavour. Any superficial mode of moral conduct (external religious symbolism) was denounced by Buddha.

Commenting on the historical mission and purpose of Buddha Dr. S. Radhakrishnan has observed :

> "Buddhism helped to democratise the philosophy of the Upanishads, which was till then confined to a select few ... It was Buddha's mission to accept the idealism of the Upanishads at its best and make it available for the daily needs of mankind.

* Department of Philosophy, Andhra University, Waltair, Andhra Pradesh.

Historical Buddhism means the spread of the Upanishad doctrine among the people ... and such democratic upheavals are common features of Hinduism".[2]

There are some concepts and propositions that are common between the Upanishads and Buddhism. But by this it should not be understood that the entire early Buddhism is a restatment of the Upanishadic philosophy, nor is the uncharitable comment made by A.B. Keith that "Buddha suffered from the intellectual poverty of comprehending the profound metaphysical doctrines of the Upanishads" - has any bearing to the true and historical position of Buddha. The spiritualism or the spiritual idealism of the Upanishads gets transformed into 'Ethical idealism' at the hands of Buddha. Buddhism has incorporated certain vital elements from the contemporary systems of thought. But these fundamental teachings of the Upanishads and other systems of philosophy get their opposition in Buddhism or at least stands changed in their meaning and essence. Let us illustrate this point, which we consider is the most important contribution of Buddhism for the enrichment of Indian Philosophy, religion and culture, and in doing so Buddha might have committed a historical blunder, which caused its total disappearance from the soil in which it was born.

(1) The Upanishadic teaching in its essence is 'Brahmātmaikavāda' stated in propositions such as :

"Atmānam Viddhi"[3] : Know thyself

"Atmavare śrotavya, mantavya, Nididhyāsitavya"

"Tattvamasi; Ayamātmā Brahma, Sarvam Khalvidam Brahma".

It seemed quite rational for Buddha to consider all these 'Mahāvākyas' as meaningless, contentless and purportless. Therefore, he ventures to substitute these with the following proposition :

"Ātmadeepobhava" : 'Let thee be light unto thyself'. The common word here is 'Ātman'; but in usage and content there is no correspondence between the Upanishads and Buddha.

(2) The human life for the Vedico-Upanishadic thinkers is full of joy,[4] happiness and bliss *(Ānandamaya)*.[5] Their life aspirations were to live with children, wealth and cattle and in the end attain *Moksa* conceived as *Sālokya, Sārūpya, Sāmīpya and Sāyujya.*

All this appeared to Buddha as a 'pious fiction' because first of all there is no heaven and secondly his perception of human life is entirely a different one. The human life is full of pain, grief, sorrow and suffering

(Duhkha). It represents one of the dominant aspects of Buddhist religion and philosophy.[6] *Duhkha* is an expression of the gloom, despondency and privations produced by the impediments to human ideations and interests. There is a constant struggle between the multiplicity of human expectations and desires and the niggardliness and restrictions of nature in their fulfilment. And while the methods suggested by the Upanishadic sages are deo-centred, Buddha has suggested the method of Anthropo-centricism. There is little scope for pessimism in the Upanishadic culture and the Buddhist culture is a culture of pessimism and negation of all that is beyond human reason.

(3) The picture of the Vedic society and the 'Samgha' which Buddha wanted to construct are quite different in their structure and spirit. The Vedic society is hierarchical in its structure both in caste and the pursuit of values of human life. That is, the *cāturvarṇya* system and the *caturvidha Purushārthas* are well accepted and allowed to settle down in the society.

All this appeared to Buddha as irrational and irrelevant. The rituals serve no spiritual or social purpose. They are waste of time and material. Buddha taught an individualistic creed against the collective creed. The institutionalised duties are questioned and the role of the individual began to gain upper-hand. The socio-religious compulsiveness of the Vedic religion has the power to unify the society. But Buddha constructed a society (Samgha) where the monks lived in isolation, each seeking salvation in his own way.

(4) The dominant theme of the Upanishads is the overwhelming majesty of the spiritual infinite *(Atisaya Gambhīra)*. The mundane is not so much rejected and condemned. Though the world is sometimes regarded as *leela*, till Sankara came on the philosophical scene, it was not regarded as Maya or illusion. It is eternal, it is the basic for all intellectual, philosophical and religious activities. The world for Buddha is like a flowing river in which nothing is eternal and on the contrary, everything is in a 'state of flux'. This created problems to the upholders of Brahma as well as Dharma, because both are eternal.

(5) Philosophies of eternalism, are always opposed to the philosophies of change, flux and non-eternality. Brahman is eternal, bliss and joy. For a philosophy which advocated the reality of change, flux and non-substantialism, the above theory seemed to be a very powerfully opposing one. That is why in a number of passages in the Nikayas we find Buddha vehemently criticising all those who have maintained the views of :

(a) *Satkāya drsti*
(b) *Ātma vāda*
(c) *Uccheda vāda*
(d) *Pudgala vāda*
(e) *Pudgālatma vāda*
(f) *Īśvara vāda* - and so on.

Any *vada* or doctrine or philosophy that is opposed to the foundationality of Buddhism and its characteristic marks, is an irrational doctrine for Buddha. Then what is a rational doctrine ? A rational doctrine is that which is not a revealed one; which is not held because tradition holds it; which is not given by faith of a Guru or a teacher. It, on the other hand, is that which one realizes through discursive reasoning and knows it to be true for himself without being aided by any external agencies. This is what Buddha calls the Samyak Sombodhi, and Prajñā.

(6) While the other great teachers of the age like - Uddalaka, Yajnavalkya, Satyakama Jabala, Janaka, Cakrayana, and many others had normal lives and contributed to the philosophical doctrines, Buddha alone abandoned the Kingdom, family and all that associated with the householder. Even in Greek the greatest exponents of idealism - Xenophanes, Parmenides, Zeno and others lived a family life. The desire to renunciation[7] is not a strange one to the Upanishadic thinkers, but it arose in them after they discharged their duties in all the realms. But the case with Buddha is different. While the Upanishadic thinkers thought that the pessimistic rejection of the world is not the necessary accompaniment for the realization of the truth, Buddha felt the need to renounce the world. Questions like whether the world has a cuase ? or is an effect ? whether created in time or by atoms or Prajapati created it or it just evolved from matter or came from nothing[8] are very important questions for the Vedico-Upanishadic thinkers. For Buddha, all these questions are irrelevant or at best *'Āryakṛta Praśans'* (questions of indeterminate nature) and the reason given by Buddha is that they cannot be answered either affirmatively or negatively and any attempt to answer these questions causes one to be caught up in speculative net (Brahmajala Sutta is a famous Sutta which throws light on the speculative philosophical position of Buddha). While the philosophic spirit of questioning the presence of the world and its utility is present in the Upanishads, Buddha did not want to enter into any kind of speculative thought *(Dhiṭṭivāda)*, because each point of view *(Dhiṭṭi)* suffers from a kind of limitation.

(7) For the Vedio-Upanishadic thinkers the whole universe is dependent, governed and ruled by *Ṛta, Swadhā* and *Karma;* these Laws operate in cosmic, moral and physical realms. Buddha has replaced these laws by a different Law and called it *Pratītyasamutpāda vāda* (Doctrine of dependent origination). First, at the cosmic level, it asserts the law of a dependent origination. There is nothing isolated and disparate in the Universe. The whole universe is regarded as a chain of interdependent events in the process of fluxional mutations. Some thinkers hold that this doctrine of *Pratītyasamutpāda* was proposed by Buddha in opposition to the doctrine of *'Adhityasamutpāda',* which accepts the hypothesis of fortuitous origin of the universe, advocated by Purna Kasyapa. That everything has a cause is the view of Buddha and nothing is caused is the view of Purna Kasyapa. But the limitation of Pratityasamutpada is that it does not make any attempt to answer the ontological problem of the ultimate existence of suffering - why is there suffering at all in the world ? This question was not touched at metaphysical level in Buddhist philosophy.

(8) In Vedico-Upanishadic philosophy, on the other hand, it receives the maximum attention. The problem of suffering, evil, inequality and death drew the attention of the Vedic mind. There is God, soul and world. All these are 'anādi' (eternal or beginningless). The soul acts and is responsible for the results of the actions *(Karma phala),* both good and bad. It has to enjoy these results and if they could not be enjoyed in this life, the 'person' will have to be reborn to reap the past consequences of his deeds. Thus there is a soul which is eternal and which passes from one birth to another collecting and enjoying all the consequences of its deeds.

The problem of evil and suffering also attracted the mind of Buddha, but the solution provided by him is quite different. In accordance with the Vedic thinkers Buddha accepts that there is birth, death and rebirth, and the 'person' himself has to necessarily enjoy the results. But where he exactly differs from the Vedic mind is that while admitting that there are a number of births and deaths and rebirths, he says that the 'person reborn' is not the same as the previous 'Person'. This has landed Buddhism into various difficulties and even led to the division of Buddhism into several sects, and a particular sect called "Pudgalavādins" claiming the eternality of the soul *(Kathā vattu* is our authority).

Now let us recapitulate our position.

The Upanishadic Doctrines	The Opposition of Buddha
(1)	(2)
1. The Absolute is knowable and worshipable.	1. It is not knowable and worship of it is irrational.
2. Absolute is the spirit.	2. There is no Absolute and there is nothing what is called spiritual. Whatever is, is nothing but the 'five skandhas'.
3. There is a scope for *Niyati vāda, Svabhāva vāda, Adhyātma vāda, Ahetu vāda, Samutpāda vāda, Kriyā vāda* and *Akriyā vāda*. That means 'Philosophical pluralism has a place'.	3. *Pratītya samutpāda Vāda, Nairātmyavāda, Ārya Aṣṭānga Mārga,* explain everything.
4. *Yajña, Yāga, Tapas, Brahmacharya, Yoga,* are external means of purification.	4. Purity does not come from laying wood in fire. Kindle the fire within.
5. *Ātman* is eternal, embodies from life to life. It is the essence of all living beings.	5. *Anātmatā, Anattā* or *Nairātma* is the core of Buddhism. All things are 'essenceless'.
6. Polytheism and Absolutism co-exist.	6. Opposed to Vedic theology and Upanishadic absolutistic metaphysics.
7. Sacrificial cult, spiritualism and Absolutism are acceptable.	7. Ethical idealism, humanism and non-substantialism are advocated by Buddhism.
8. Soul, Karma, Rebirth, Punya, with Pāpa, God - all accepted.	8. No soul; the rest are admitted some variance.
9. *Satyaṃ, Śivaṃ, Sundarṃ, Śraddhā, Jñānaṃ, Karma, Yajña, Dānam, Tapas, Bhakti, Yoga, Tyāga,* etc. all have spiritual connotation.	9. *Maitri, Karuṇā, Ahiṃsā, Asteya, Dayā, Dāna, Śeela, Śiksha, Prajñā, Dhyāna, Samādhi, Nirvāṇa, anātmatā, nairātmya,* etc., acquire a new and significant ethical and religious meaning.
10. *"Ātmavat sarvabhutani", "Sarva bhuta hite ratah", "Lokasamgraha".*	

(1)	(2)
11. *Brahmarshi, Maharshi, Yogi, Muni, Tapasvi, Bhakta* are the words used.	11. *Bhikku* is the only word at the ordinary level. *Srotapanna, Anāgāmi, Buddha, Bodhisattva, Mahāsatva, Avalokiteśwara* are the words used to indicate the highest spiritual beings.
12. *Sarvatra samadarśana* is the word used to indicate the equanimity of the mind.	12. *Bahujana hitāyaca Bahujana Sukhāyaca* are the highest expectations of Buddhism.

References

1. Cf. Edward Caird, *Evolution of Religion*, Vol. I, pp. 55 ff.
2. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 471.
3. Br. Up.
4. *Satamanam bhavati*
   Satamanantam bhavati
   Satmaiswaryam bhavati
   Satam dīrghmāyuh.
   Cf. The Taittireya Upanishad Pancakosa Siddhanta
5. Cf. Rg Veda, X. 119.
6. C.A.F. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 157.
7. Dāreṣaṇā, Dhaneṣaṇā, Putreṣaṇā.
8. Cf. Prasna Upanihad, Pippalada and a host of thinkers trying to answer all these questions.

Ajodhyā - A Buddhist Treasure of Orissa

Ganeswar Nayak*

Washed perpetually by the blue waters of three rivers, of Sona in the north, Ghargharā in the east, Sindhu in the west and fringed in the east and south by the picturesque Swarnachud and Patna range, Ajodhyā has the unique distinction of being a store house of various religious antiquities. Situated 25 kilimetres to the west of Balasore town, this place has been named after the celebrated Hindu place of pilgrimage in northern India. Renowned historians like K.C. Panigrahi, N.N. Vasu, and N.K. Sahu opine that this place has been named after Ajodhyā of northern India, the birth place of Lord Rama. N.K. Sahu says that this place was once capital of Virāt Rājā and was known as Pañchakrośi Kshetra in ancient India extending up to 10 miles. P. Mukherji in *Orissan History, Archaelogy and Archives*, writes, "At Ajodhyā in Nilgiri State there were vast ruins of a temple, where there were large number of Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina temples. But not a single temple is there with its former grandeur. From the inscription of the images the date of Ajodhya can safely be assigned to 10th century if not earlier".[1] Like Bhubaneswar, Ajodhyā was once a city of temples, and ruins of more than 1,600 shrines can now be counted in this place, while a large number of images are found strewn all over the area and a considerable number remain buried inside the debris.[2]

The presiding deity of Ajodhyā is Mārīchī and this goddess is worshipped even today.[3] The original temple was located in the southern part of the village, and the spot of the old one is now dotted with huge remains of carved stones, *āmalaka śīla* and large granite pillars.[4] Some of the granite pillars are from 5 ft to 16 ft in length and they greatly resemble pillars of the Buddhist institution of Nalanda. The huge mass of architectural ruins indicate that the original temple of Marichi was a large one and that it was stituated at the centre of not less than one hundred shrines scattered around it.[5] The more noteworthy images of this place are those of Mārīchī, Mañjuśrī, Lokeśvara, and Varahamukhī, one of the attendents of Mārīchī. The last three images have been installed in the modern Marichi temple.

The three-faced and eight-armed goddess Mārīchī stands on a chariot drawn by eight pigs.[6] Her face, directed to the left, is that of a sow. In

* Department of History, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.

the first pair of hands she carries thread and needle and in the second pair she displays Tarjanī and a goad, while in the third pair she holds the bow and the arrow. Of the fourth pair, the left one is unfortunately mutilated, but the Ashoka branch held by it is clearly seen, and the right probably carries a *Vajra.* The image of Dhyāni Buddha Vairochana is depicted on its crown and it is surrounded by some figurines. The image is 3'6" in height and a popular Buddhist formula is inscribed in the slab in the character of the 10th century indicating that the antiquities of this site are assignable to the later medieval period.[7]

The goddess Mārīchī is usually associated with four accompanying deities : Vartalli, Vaḍaalī, Varālī and Varahamukhī. The image of Varahamukhi has been unearthed from the ruined spot of the Mārīchī temple.[8] The goddess is four-armed, three-eyed and stands on a lotus throne. She carries Vajrānkuśa and Suchi in the right hand and noose.[9]

The image of Mañjuśrī which has been obtained from the ruins of the Marichi temple is remarkable for both its execution and artistic decoration. The worship of Mañjuśrī and Maitreya Boddhisattava like that of Avalokitesvara and Tara was prevalent among the Buddhists of Mahayana School.[10] The image of Mañjuśrī is 3'-2" x 2'-3".[11] The figure is two armed, decked with princely ormaments and stands on a lotus throne in a graceful tri-*bhanga* (triple bent) pose. He carries in his left hand the stalk of a lotus, on which is found the image of Sādhana Kumāra. A long lotus stalk rises from the lotus throne. Sadhana Kumara holds a book under his left arm, which is placed over his right thigh, while he displays the *vitraka* with his right hand. On the left side of the main figure of Mañjuśrī is found the image of two-armed Yaminī standing on a couchant buffalo. At the background of these images may be observed a beautiful arch (*torana*), the pillars of which are decorated with the Gajasiṃha figure and on both ends are seen the figures of kinnaris. Vidyādhara figures playing on the muscial instrument are seen hovering in the sky, while several devotees are represented with folded hands below the lotus throne of the deity.[12]

The image of Lokeśvara has been unearthed at Ajodhyā and is brilliantly carved out.[13] It stands on the lotus throne in tri-*bhanga* pose and is heavily decked with necklace and bejewelled tiara", on which can be seen a small figure of Amitābha.[14] Three of its hands are unfortunately broken. The lower right hand which only is intact displays the *varada* attitude.[15] On the right of the image Tara is standing in *atibhanga* or extremely bent style whereas the left side is occupied by the goddess Ekajātā. A "torana" which looks like the representation of a wooden

structure, forms the background, and two votive Chaityas are placed over it at both ends, Vidyādharīs are floating on clouds, with wreaths of flowers while below the lotus throne female devotees are found worshipping the deity.

N.K. Sahu and N.N. Vasu are of the opinion that the two images of Mañjuśrī and Lokesvara were originally placed on both sides of goddess Marichi inside her magnificent temple.[16] The images are no doubt a treasure of Buddhist art and three of them combinedly convey the intensity of religious feeling of an age when tantric influence was in ascendency.[17]

Beside the temple of Mārīchī, there appears to be another magnificent temple dedicated to Tara.[18] In fact, the Tārā images of Ajodhyā are most remarkable in their size, number as well as artistic beauty and grandeur.[19] Inside the modern Uttareśvara temple can be seen a perfectly preserved image of Vajra Tārā, which is popularly known as Thākuranī of Ajodhyā.[20] The goddess is four-faced, eight-armed and is richly ornamented. The faces are graceful and resplendent with blooming youth, and each of the heads has pyramidal crown with an image of Dhyani Buddha. She sits on a lotus throne in *vajra-paryanka* attitude and in spite of her deep meditation, she appears to be fully conscious of the worshippers before her. She carries in her right hands the *vajra*, the noose, the conch and arrows, and displays in the left *vajrānkuśa, nīlotpala,* a bow and Tarjanī. She is surounded by four Tārā figures placed in four directions. They may be identified as Puspa Tārā, Dhūp Tārā, Dīp Tārā and Gandhā Tārā occupying the east, the south, the west and the north respectivey.[21]

The images of Tārā and Vajra Tārā are very rarely found and their representations at Ajodhyā are by far the most perfect specimens of India.[22]

Ajodhyā is very rich in Buddhist antiquities.[23] A large number of temples, earth mounds and abandoned walls are noticed all round the area. Many priceless archaeological objects are occasionally traced while ploughing fields for agricultural operations, renovating silted tanks on digging wells and trenches.[24] Discovery of dilapidated wells and ruins of ancient temples in this area has become a matter of frequent occurrence. Still a large number of stone slabs, decorative fragments and *āmalakas* are lying scattered in the southern part of the village.[25]

To acquire a thorough knowledge of this place it is necessary to investigate the materials lying scattered in the area adjacent to Ajodhyā and study the iconography of each image.

References

1. P. Acharya - *Studies in Orissan History, Archeology & Archives*, Cuttack, 1969, p. 46.
2. N.K. Sahu - *Buddhism in Orissa*, Cuttack, 1958, p. 210.
3. N.K. Sahu - OP. Cit - p. 209.
4. Ibid - p. 209.
5. N.N. Vasu - *Archeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, Calcutta, 1911, p. XXIV.
6. N.K. Sahu - OP. Cit., p. 210.
7. N.N. Vasu - OP. Cit., P. XXIV.
8. Ibid - p. XXIV.
9. Ibid - P.P. XXX.
10. N.K. Sahu - OP. Cit., p. 211.
11. N.N. Vasu - p. XXXI.
12. N.N. Vasu - OP. Cit., p. XXXII.
13. K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa* (Hindu Period), Cuttack, 1981, p. 449.
14. N.K. Sahu - OP. Cit., p. 215.
15. Ibid - p. 216.
16. Ibid - p. 220.
17. Ibid - p. 225.
18. N.N. Vasu - OP. Cit., p. XXXIII.
19. Ibid - p. XXXII.
20. N.K. Sahu - OP. Cit., p. 215.
21. "Orissan Image of Astabhuja Marichi" O.H.R.J., 19867, p. 35.
22. Ajodhya A Buddhist site of Orissa, April, 1991, p. 35.
23. Ibid - 37.
24. R.P. Mohapatra, *Survey of Jaina Monuments of Orissa.* Delhi, 1984, p. 107.
25. N.K. Sahu - OP. Cit. -

A Great and Unique Rock-cut Buddhist Site Discovered in Orissa

Harish Chandra Prusty*

Langudi, an enhanting and isolated picturesque hillock, (Lat. 20°4.1'N, Long. 86°11'E), situated in Salipur village under Mirzapur Grampanchayat of Dharmasala Thana within the newly constituted Jajpur District (formerly Cuttack district), Orissa, has been explored by us for the first time as an invincible emporium of Mahayana, Vajrayana sects of Buddhism yielding inexhaustible hoards of rare rock-cut Buddhist monuments such as *stupas*, Dhyani Buddhas in variegated postures *(Mudrās)*, Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, and feminine Vajrayana Buddhist divinities like Tara and Prajnaparamita, in the wake of the dilapidated remains of an imposing brick-built central stupa as well as the brick-built sumptuous and quadrangular monasteries *(Viharas)* numbering two.

The magnificent solitary hillock is surrounded—in the east by Vajragiri, an equally potential Buddhist site, located in Kotapur G.P. of Dharmasala Thana and Sankha which is an isolated Buddhist hamlet still immortalizing the perverted synonym of the typical Buddhist *Samgha*[1] meaning thereby a place for the congregation of the Buddhist monks; in the north by Kaima hill and Radhanagar Janakinagar—explored as the landmark centres of Buddhism yielding a rare rock-cut uninscribed elephant like the inscribed Dhauli prototype - the symbolic representation of Sakyasimha Goutama Buddha Gajattamme as visualised in Mayadevi's dream -, a galaxy of semicircular or crescent moon-like as well as the quadrangular rock-cut Buddhist caves, the series of inscriptions in post-Gupta Brahmi character boldly incised on a rectangular ledge of Kaima hill, as well as the two pieces of sculptured railing fragments bearing a full-bloomed lotus flanked on extreme terminal edges by two half lotus medallions as reflected in case of Bharhut and Bodhgaya railings; in the west by Duburi hill surveyed as an ancient Buddhist site of the early century of the pre-Christian era yielding two number of rock-cut Buddhist caves bearing natural cave paintings inside the wall, seventeen number of stupa railing fragments *(Vedikās)* in the shape of lenticular sockets, copingstones *(ushnisas)* and cross bars *(suchis)* in striking resemblance with those of Sanchi, Bharhut (Madhyapredesh)[2], Bodhgaya (state of

* Lecturer in History, Sahaspur College, Cuttack.

Bihar)[3] Sarnath (Uttarpradesh)[4], Aragarah, Bhubaneswar, and Dumduma in Puri District and Lalitgiri in Cuttack district, Orissa.[5]

All those above cited Buddhist sites, overlooking the river Keluo, a tributary of the Brahmani, circumscribe this unparallelled rock-cut Buddhist hillock by an approximate radius of about five kilonretres.

In course of my whirlwind exploration,intensive area survey and extensive field study for the Buddhist monuments all around the Dharmasala area, I could have chanced for the first time to discover a unique and undiscovered hoard of Buddhist monuments in the shape of rock-cut miniature stupas and sculptures of Buddha and other Buddhist divinities cut out of the rocky womb in various panels in the various spurs of this desolate hillock. The Southern spur of this picturesque hillock yields a galaxy of rock-cut Buddhist sculptures, exquisitely relieved in an extensive panel numbering four with two clear-cut-compartments. In the first pair of this extensive panel, the seated Dhyani Buddha Amitabh in *Samadhi Mudrā* and seated Tara in *Varada Mudrā* are microscopically carved out.

1. **Buddha in Samādhi (Dhyāna) Mudrā**

Microscopically chiselled out of the natural ledge projecting upward at an approximate height of about 2', the exquisite image of Buddha, whose long tapering youthful and tight-fringing anatomy is resplendent in all sorts of auspicious characteristic marks of a 'Mahapurusa-Chakravartin' or an 'Anuttara-Jnanayogin' or a 'Lokottara' or a living universal lord-Saviour being incarnated, is elegantly poised on a *viswapadma* of double-eight effulgent petals in *vajraparyankasana* pose or Adamantine attitude. The grave and serene looking, contemplative and compassionate Buddha, whose gallant and pacific face is absorbed in an unprecedented exhilarating mood of a half-revealed, benign-smiling rhythm and the thrilling yogic ecstasy, reveals the fervent, meditative posture, i.e. *Dhyāna* or *Samādhi Mudrā* with his two hand palms, gallantly resting one on the other on his *utsanga* or lap.

Draped in a diaphonous *antarvāsa,* i.e. the inner garment as well as an *uttarasanga*, i.e. outer monastic garment worn in graceful *ubhayamsika* fashion, the picturesque icon of Buddha represents an unprecedented glow and unparallelled transcendent glimpse of[6] *Mahapurusa Laksanas* characterizing Buddha as a 'Mahapurusa Chakravartin' as witnessed in the narrow perforated ear-lobes approximately pointing to the sloping shoulders, the auspicious trivali around the conch-shell-like dainty neck *(Kambugriva)*, the long-tapering equipoised hands upto thighs *(Ajanulambita)*, long tapering youthful and balanced fleshy chest

pinpointed by sharp-pointed prominent nipples, the slim, slender and narrow dainty waist along with a slightly swelling balanced fleshy abdomen, punctuated by a sharp-pointed deep navel, the roundishly rendered slim and slender chin, the lightly compressed over-sensitive curling lips, the sharp bridged piquant nose, the straight slanting arched eyebrows receded by the elusive ball like half-shut, downcast, convexed yogic eyes like full bloomed lotus *(pūrna-padma-palāśa-lochana),* a sharp pointed miniature and auspicious *ūrna* mark on the extensive forehead, the sacred wheel marks *(Dharma Chakras)* on both the foot soles and the right hand palm, gently resting on the corresponding left on *utsanga,* the long tapering pointed fingers and the toes bearing the prominent nails, as well as the spiral locks of the flambuoyant short, curly hairs, miraculously arrayed, stylized and juxtaposed in auspicious *daksinavarta* direction, ending at the crest with an *ushnisa* (or the bump of transcendent wisdom and intelligence) of homogeneous short curls in *daksinavarta* style. The extant rock-cut image of Buddha, ionographically resembles the third celestial Dhyani Buddha Amitabha in *Samadhi Mudra.*[7] Inspite of being perennially weather-beaten and abandoned, exceedingly disrupted and denuded, partially grooved and sabred owing to an unbridled external vandalism perpetrated by the miscreants and curio-hunters, mischievous icon-seekers and senseless quarry diggers, the image however maintains the gross anatomical grace and glamour, charisma and equilibrium, coquettish elegance and voluptuous beauty, a high degree of artistic excellence and efflorescence, an unparallelled suppleness and romantic suavity. In spite of being considerably damaged the newly discovered image of Buddha measured upto an appropriate extant height of about 1'7", the gross extant height of the available image upto the long tapering elliptical nimbus *(prabhāmaṇḍala)* being 1'10". Stylistically and iconographically the rare rock-cut image of Buddha can tentatively be attributed to the early medieval period of circa 7th-8th century A.D. onwards nurturing the lingering trends of illustrious Bhauma art idioms and traits, technique and tradition.

2. Two-Armed Seated Tārā

Just adjacent to the Dhyani Buddha Amitabh, is glimpsed an exquistely carved two-armed Tara facing north. Garbed in a diaphonous *antarvāsa,* i.e. the inner garment securely held by a chain-shaped beaded and bejewelled girdle *(Katimekhala)* with a centrally adorned ornate clasp, the two-armed round faced benign Tara, whose slender youthful and tight clinging, balanced tapering limbs are glimpsed and radiated by variegated auspicious characteristic marks of a celestaial virgin of twice eight years i.e. early sixteen, adorns the *viśwapadma* of double eight

elegant petals in graceful *Lalitasana* or *Ardhaparyankasana* posture hanging her right leg downward at ease with the foot being perched on a *padapitha*, i.e. a fully blossomed secondary *utpala*. Cultivaing an unbridled youthful anatomical effulgence and adolescence, over intoxicating. sexy scenario and unparallelled celeestial virginity, transcendent vigour and juvenile countenance, the contemplative and compassionate goddess Tara, or otherwise interpreted as Tarini, i.e. the sole protectress of the universe, whose mystic syllables i.e. *Bijamantra* is muttered as *"Om Tārā Tuttāre Ture Svāhā"*, is decked in all sorts of celestial garments and ornaments comprising a single stringed beaded necklace *(Kaṇṭhihara Ekāvali)*, with a centrally adorned bejewelled locket, single beaded armlets *(Keyuras)*, single beaded bangles *(Kaṇṭhi Prkosthavalayas)* befitting her slim, slender and narrow, dainty wrists, the bejewelled *karna kuṇḍalas* (earstuds)miraculously set up with flambuoyant *makara* motifs, an illuminating narrow band of beaded *Kīritamukuṭa* with a miniature crown shaped or tringular central ornate projection befitting her slim forehead as well as an attractive bun-shaped coiffure of luxuriant hair, securely fastended by a garland like beaded ribbon. The grave and serene looking, pacific and half revealed, mildly smiling benign Tara, displays the boon bestowing attitude, i.e. *Varada Mudrā*[8] and a long stemmed *utpala* in her right and left hand respectively. The extant rock-cut image of Tara maintains an attrative mediocre heightt of about 1'8". Stylistically this unique rock-cut Tara corresponds to the Bhaumakara period of circa 7th-8th century onwards and not later than circa 10th century A.D.

3. Two-Armed Seated Tārā

Homogenously designed, draped and decked in all sorts of gorgeous garments and celeestial ornments as in the case of her preceding counter part, the two-armed, round-faced, serene looking and mild smiling benign Buddhist Tantric Goddess Tara is elegantly poised on a *viśwapadma* in *Ardhaparyankasana* attitude. Radiating an unparalleled glimpse of a bisected bun-shaped coiffure of elongated luxuriant hair on the head in oblique parallels, incarcerated by a garland-like beaded ribbon with additional elongated matted locks descending up to her back and sloping shoulders in successive wavy rhythms, the compassionate goddess Tara, exhibits the *Varada* pose in her right hand and a fully blossomed *utpala* in her corresponding damaged left hand with the soft cable-like elongated stem being emerged in between her thumb and the index finger. The newly explored rock-cut miniature image of Tara cultivates an attractive miniature height of about 1'4". Stylistically the extant image of Tara can be well ascribable to the early medieval period of circa 7th-8th cantury A.D. onwards.

4. Four-Armed Standing Prajñāpāramitā

The rare rock-cut feminine Mahayana Budhist pantheon of goddess Prajnaparamita, the divine mother of all the celestial Dhyani Buddhas whose antiquity can tentatively be assigned to second century A.D. i.e. espcially to Nagarjuna. Her sadhana is believed to have been composed by Arya Assanga during circa 3rd-4th centry A.D. onwards ever since the emergence of Pancha Dhyani Buddhas; she is excellently relieved on the extreme terminal end of the rock-cut panel. Clad in a transparent *antarvāsa* i.e. inner monastic garment held by a plain stringed girdle *(Kamarabandh)*, the two-armed white or gold complexioned benign Buddhist goddess Prajnaparamita stands erect and upright on a *viswapadma* bereft of being decked in ornaments unlike the preceding images of Tara. The grave and gallant, smiling, campassionate goddess of transcendent wisdom, erudition and retentive memory, i.e. *Parajnaparamita* whose slim, slender youthful and tight clinging equipoised anatomy is resplendent in variegated, auspicious marks of celestial maiden of double eight years, displays on her left hand a long stemmed *utpala* surmounted and superimposed by the sacred Prajnaparamita scripture, while her lower arm being completely denuded and detached from her elbow, is presumed to have either exhibitted a red lotus, i.e. *Raktotpala* or the varada pose. Glimpsed with miniature and effulgent bun-shaped coiffure of luxuriant elongated hair on the head along with a few elongated matted locks descending upto back and her sloping shoulders in rippling waves,the extant goddess iconographically corresponds with the *Dhyāna* and *Sādhana* of Sita Prajnaparamita, a variant of Prajnaparamita.

5. The recently discovered (June, 1990) unique rock-cut image of Prajnaparamita bears an optimum available height of about 1'2", from head to thighs, while the remaining lower portions are buried within the womb of the underground debris. Stylistically, the rare and unparalleled rock-cut image of Prajnaparamita can be well ascribable to the post-Gupta period of circa 7th century A.D. onwards.

Second Rock-cut Panel comprising a miniature Bodhisattva Padmapāni and a galaxy of seated Dhyānī Buddhas with a Rock-cut monolithic stupa in situ at centre, ten feet afar from the first panel.

1. Two-Armed and One-Faced Standing Padmapāni Bodhisattva

Exquisitely carved out of the natural ledge, the two-armed and round-faced picturesque image of Padmapani Bodhisattva stands on a *viswapadma* in graceful thrice bent *(Tribhanga)* posture. The badly dwindled and

constantly weather-beaten image of miniature Padmapani, whose long tapering and youthful balanced anatomy is radiant in all sorts of suspicious marks of a celestial ascetic or an archangel, displays the *varada* pose on the principal right hand palm and fingers. The corresponding left carries a fully blossomed *utpala* with its soft cable-like elongated stem being emerged in between the thumb and index finger respectively.[10] The grave and serene looking, compassionate and gallant smiling Bodhisattva, who cultivates an ornate crown of chignon i.e. highly stylistic bejewelled *Jaṭāmukuṭa* with a spectacular glimpse of an attractive bun, securely fastened by a garland-like bejewelled ribbon, reveals an unparallelled divinity and unprecedented exhilarating mood of thrilling yogic ecstay and universal compassion. In spite of prominent cracks, severe jolts and frequent grooves sustained in the major portions of the limbs, the thrice bent miniature standing image of Padmapani maintains its gross anatomical grace and glamour, charisma and equillibrium, the high degree of aesthetic elegance and naturalism, romantic suppleness and suavity. The extant picturesque image of two-armed standing Padmapani reveals an intoxicating miniature height of about 1', while the remaining lower parts of the feet are hidden within the under ground debris. Stylistically, the principal rock-cut standing image of Padmapani Bodhisattva can be well ascribable to the early medieval period of circa 7th-8th century A.D. onwards.

2. Buddha in Samādhi Mudrā (Amitābha)

Painstakingly relieved out of the natural live rock, just beside the Padmapani, the grave and serene looking compassionate and mild smiling Buddha is manificiently poised on a *viśwapadma* of double eight radiant petals in *Vajraparyankāsana* style or the Adamantine attitude. Buddha, whose elongated and youthful tapering body is dazzled in all sorts of auspicious characteristic marks of a *mahapurusa chakravartin* or an *Annuttara Jnanayogin* or a *Lokttara*, bestows the fervent mood of meditation gallantly resting right palm over his corresponding left on the utsanga or lap. Radiating the transcendent glow and an unparallelled glimpse in daksinavarta style with an ushnisa of identical short curls, the extant image of Buddha represents the sacred wheel marks (Dharmachakras) on the right palm and the respective foot soles. The principal image, whose pacific gallant face is absorbed in an unprecedented hilarious sense of a half revealed benign smiling rhythm and thrilling yogic ecstasy, however exhibits an approximate extant height upto the elliptical nimbus of about 1'8". Stylistically and iconographically, the extant rock-cut icon of Buddha, which corresponds to the third celestial Dhyani Buddha Amitabh, approximately points to circa 8th century A.D. onwards and not later than circa 10th century A.D.

Buddha in Bhūmisparśa Mudrā

Exquisitely carved out of the natural ledge, the gigantic and magnificent colossus of Buddha, whose domical contour of the long tapering youthful and equipoised leonine anatomy is ablaze with variegated, auspicious characteristic marks of a 'Mahapurusa Chakravartin' or a living universal lord saviour being incarnate, adorns the moon over the *viśwapadma* of double-eight effulgent petals in *vajraparayankāsana* attitude. The grave and serene looking, placid and mild smiling Buddha, displays the monumental Earth Touching Attitude i.e., *Bhūmisparśa Mudrā* on his principal right hand palm and fingers touching his right knee invoking the mother Goddess earth to witness the dramatic moment of his attainment of the supreme enlightenment, i.e., *Sambodhi* under the sacred Bodhi tree at Bodhgaya,[11] Synchronised by an unprecedented historic triumph and transcendence over the most devilish and malevolent Mara, the vindictive god of worldly passions and temptatation, ties and carnal bondages. The corresponding left hand palm and fingers firmly and gently placed on the *utsanga* or lap, reveal the prfound mediatative posture, i.e., Dhyana or *Samadhi Mudra.* Glimpsed with a roundishly rendered effulgent *prabhamandala* behind the head as well as the spiral locks of the radiant short, curly hairs on the head with an *ushnīsa* of homogeneous short curls or protuberance in auspicious *dakshināvarta* direction, the most fascinating and rare rock-cut image of Buddha maintains an approximate probable height of about 1'8''. Stylistically, the recently discovered rare rock-cut image of Buddha can be well ascribable to circa 8th century A.D. onwards, nurturing, the lingering trends of Bhauma art idioms and traits, technique and tradition. Iconographically, the extant image of Buddha in *Bhūmisparśa Mudrā* corresponds to the second celestial Dhyani Buddha Aksobhya.[12]

Rock-cut Miniature Buddha in Bhūmisparśamudrā

Homogenously carved, designed and draped as in the case of its preceding prototypes, the exquisite miniature image of Buddha, whose slim and slender, youthful and equipoised anatomy is resplendent in all sorts of auspicious marks of a Mahapurusa Chakravartin, is miraculously poised on a viswapadma of double eight effulgent petals. The grave and pacific looking, compassionate and mild smiling Buddha, exhibits the monumental Bhumisparsa Mudra on his principal right hand palm and fingers touching his right knee, while his corresponding left hand palm and fingers gallantly placed on his utsanga or lap reveal the fervent mood of meditation i.e., Dhyana or Samadhi Mudra. The newly explored picturesque icon of Buddha, who is found profoundly worshipped by a prostrated and

bejewelled kneeling devotee in folded hands, i.e. Anjali Mudra slight underneath the Vajraparynakasana and viswapadma, is having an attractive miniature height of about 7", the gross extant height upto the viswapadma being 10".

Buddha in Bhūmisparśa Mudrā

Microscopically chiselled out of the natural bedrock of Langudi hill the dignified and gallant looking, compassionate and benign smiling image of Buddha, as in the case of its preceding countrerparts, represents the monumental earth-touching attitude i.e., Bhumi sparsa Mudra on the principal right hand while the corresponding left hand palm on the lap bearing an auspicious wheel mark i.e. Dharmacakra, depicts the usual revelation of fervent meditative posutre i.e. Samadhi Mudra. Flanked on sinister and dexter bottom corner as well as the dexter top corner, by a two-armed, lotus-bearing devotee, standing on a lotus pedestal with *vandanābhinaya* posture in the upraised right hand, a headless seated devotee or donor or danapati in Maharajalila attitude as well as a two armed bejewelled devotee sitting in Maharajalila attitude with the usual revelation of the *vandanābhinaya* attitude on the slightly up raised right hand palm and fingers, the present rock-cut and rare image of Buddha bears an appropriate extant height of about 1'7". The approximate calculable height from padmasana to the long tapering elliptical nimbus is 1'9".

Headless Buddha in Samādhi Mudrā

Meticulously carved and microscopically chiselled out of the rocky womb of the crescent moon-like rock cut panel, an exquisite image of Buddha, with the head severed from the leonine trunk, is magnificently poised on a viswapadma in Vajraparyankasana attitude. Homogeneously draped, designed and equipoised, the extant headless image of Buddha reveals identical art idioms and iconographic traits as reflected in case of its preceding prototypes adorning the same crescent moon-like rock-cut gallery. The picturesque image of Buddha, whose long tapering youthful and adolescent leonine anatomy is glazed in all sorts of auspicious characteristic marks of a Mahapurusa chakravartin, bestows the profound mediatitive posture i.e., Dhyana or Samadhi Mudra sternly and gallantly resting the right palm over the corresponding left on utsanga or lap. Shedding an unparallelled glimpse and effulgence of outward anatomical vivacity and the transcendent vigour, inward sublimity and the unprecedented thrilling yogic ecstacy, the principal image with a long tapering elliptical nimbus behind the head, is flanked on the sinister bottom edge by a prostrated kneeling female devotee offering an unbridled

reverential floral tribute to the lotus feet of the Blessed one i.e. Buddha in her half closed downcast yogic eyes absorbed in dense mood of devotion, worship and obeisance. The available height of the extant rock-cut image of Buddha is 1'8", while the optimum probably height upto the ovalish prabhamandala happens to be 1'10".

A Rok-cut Monolithic Stūpa at Centre in situ

The crescent moon-like rock-cut panel of seated Dhyani Buddhas in variegated hand postures (i.e. samadhi or Dhyana and Bhumisparsa Mudra) are miraculously honey-combed at the centre by a rock-cut monolithic stupa having a circular drum (medhi) an elongated dome (Andha) as well as an exceedingly damaged rectangular harmika reminiscent of those of the identical structural khondolite stupa hoards discovered at Lalitgiri in particular. The ensuring rare rockcut monolithic stupa cultivates an approximate extant height of about 2'2" and the mid-outer circumference is about 7'.

Rock-cut stupa panel carved out of the crescent moon-like natural ledge at the northern spur of the langudi hill

The northern spur of the isolated picturesque hillock is glimpsed with the mush-room growth of about thirty-four numbers of relatively larger and smaller hoards of myriad rock-cut stupas, exquisitely carved in low reliefs and even occasionally flanked by the finials or the fully blossomed lotus medallions on the extreme narrow terminal rocky edges.

These rare rock-cut miniature monolithic stupas however cultivate variable heights of about 4'6" as in case of the principal rockcut central stupa, 3'4" in case of the second one, 3' in case of third rock cut stupa, 10", 1'8", 1'1", 7", 1', 3'2", 2'1", 1'8", 1'5", 1'7", 1'11", 1'1", 1'4", 10", 2'5", 1'9", 1', 1'9", 9", 1'4", 1'1", 1'2", 6", 1'5", 8", 6", 1'8", 6", 1'4", and 9" in case of the successive ones.

The gigantic central rock-cut stupa, exquisitely and microscopically focussed in the centre of the semicircular ledge, for our purpose, innovates an extra-ordinary workmanship in the contemporary early medieval Buddhist architectural world, as its prototype is even unique and unprecedented, rare and unparalleled, unrivalled and unsurpassed being nowhere found either in North eastern India, or in southern India as well. The Central rock-cut gigantic stupa, flanked on both sides by equally a bigger size rock-cut stupa on right side and eight numbers of big and small rock-cut stupas on left, is worth mentioning. The main rock cut stupa which focusses the attention of the connoisseurs, flambuoyantly depicts the traditional architectural norms comprising a

gigantic circular drum (Medhi) the cylindrical dome (Andha) as well as a rectangular harmika with an elongated monolithic cylindrical shaft surmounted and superimposed by a crescent moon-like umbrella (chhatra) respectively.

The full bloomed lotus medallions adorning the a top of the *chhatrāvali* like a crescent moon or a loop however perpetuates the lingering trends of ancient stupa architectural norms as reflected at Bharhut and Sanchi in central India, Bodhgaya in northern India, Amaravati in southern India, as well as the identical rock cut stupas and chaityas at Bhaja, Karle, Kanheri, Pitalkhora, Bagh, Ajanta and Ellora in western India. The available height of the central rock cut stupa stands mesuring 4'4", the height of the hovering vidyadharas being 1'4" each. Amidst the stupendous hoards of large and miniature rock-cut stupas, a small and spectacular image of Buddha in samadhi Mudra is exquisitely carved depicting an unimpressive triangular face in striking resemblance with an identical singular rockcut image of Buddha in samadhi Mudra, at Paravadi peak of Lalitgiri. The tiny sculpture of Buddha measures an optimum extant height of about 1'. Further in the middle of the plain surface at about six feet afar from the rock cut stupa panel is glimpsed an exquisitely carved miniature image of Buddha in samadhi Mudra measuring an ignominious negligible height of about 4". Apart form the principal rock cut stupa, a galaxy of relatively smaller stupas of variable heights, as already noted earlier, are nearly relieved on the natural bedrock occasionally cultivating the elongated and fully blossomed *utpalas.*

The other remarkable highlights of our exploration at Langudi hill comprise an unsculptured monolithic khondolite rectangular pillar basement, presumably a squarish and monolithic khondolite pillars erected on the stone-paved verandah and courtyard of an imposing brick built sumptuous and quadrangular monastery (Saṅghārāma) lying buried within a huge compact and quadrangular brick mound and debris comprising numerous burnt bricks and random brick bats all through on extensive mound of about (40 x 40) metres or (120 x 120) feet respectively. The devastated ruins of the monolithic khondolite pillar fragments measure about 2'2" by 1'9" by 1'6" as its extant length, breadth and thickness respectively in close affinity to those of identical khondolite pillar fragments discovered from the excavated monastic complexes at Lalitgiri, Ratnagiri, and Udayagiri in particular, Kapila, Tarangasagarapur, Erada, Rameswara, Kolanigiri Gopalpur in Cuttack district, Solampur, and Bharda in Balasore district (at present Bhadrak district), Orissa in general.

The devastated ruins of the second brick built huge quadrangular and compact monastery (Vihāra or Saṅghārāma) are about (40 x 40) metres or (120 x 120) feet as in case of the former one.

Further, the western spur of the fascinating hillock, which serves as the principal passage for entrance and exit to the hill, miraculously yields a vast and isolated, imposing and domical brick mound of an approximate aslant height of about 25' and vertical height of about 15' with a gigantic circular drum like basement vouchsafing to be an imposing brick-built stupendous central stupa in close resemblance with those of the centrally adorned gigantic brick built imposing stupa at Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, Kolanigiri (yet to be exhumed), and Lalitgiri.

Lastly, a convicing hoard of Buddhist monuments are either presumed to have been denuded and dwindled, devastated and despoiled owing to the sadistic pleasure and senseless vandalism perpetrated by the hands of the local cowherds and the unscrupulous quarry diggers or have already been shifted to nearby locality. The preservation of a magnificant head of Buddha attached to the inner side of the outer brick wall of the pristine precinct of Shyamasundar Temple is a blatant example of it. An over-sensitive curling lip, roundishly pointed romantic chin, the sharp bridged piquant nose, the straight slanting arched eye-brows focussed by the half-closed down-cast full bloomed lotus like convexed yogic eyes, the narrow perforated earlobes approximately pointing to the sloping shoulders, the auspicious Trivali around the conch shell like neck (Kambugriva), a sharp pointed auspicious *ūrna* mark on the forehead as well as the spiral locks of the radiant short curly-hairs on the head with an ushnisa of identical short curls in dakshinavarta style, constitute the variegated auspicious-characteristic marks of a Mahapurusa Chakravartin. Stylistically and iconographically the picturesque head of Buddha well vies with the homogenous heads of Buddha at Mathura, Saranath, (in North India), Lalitgiri, Ratnagiri and Udayagiri, Gopalpur, and Erada (in Orissa), Amaravati (in South India), Borobudur, Prambanam and Java (in South Asia) as well as Ceylone. Nurturing the lingering trends of Sarnath Gupta art idioms of circa 7th-8th century A.D. onwards, the intriguing head of Buddha exhibits an optimum extent height from head to neck and the outer circumference of about 2'1" and 5'2" respectively.

Another miniature and monolithic khondolite votive stupa of about 2'6" in height miraculously enshrining the miniature effigy of a Dhyani Buddha Aksobhya in Bhumisparsa Mudra in an exquisitely carved rectangular niche, has been installed behind the Shyamasunder temple for public adoration and obeisance to it as a *Parsvadeva*. The singular votive stupa, which stylistically corresponds to the early medieval period or the monumental Bhaumakara period of circa 8th century A.D. onwards, resembles in workmanship the analogous hoards of miniature votive

stupas, discovered at Lalitgiri, Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, Kolangiri, Erada, Belarpur in present Cuttack, Jajpur and Kendrapara districts (formerly in Cuttack district), Solampur in Bhadrak district (formerly in Balasore District, Orissa) and Bodhgaya in Bihar (north-Eastern India).

The broad and extensive field study has however yielded a headless image of ten armed Mahisasuramardini Durga of about 1'10" in extant height lying abandoned and weather-beaten, down below the pedestal of the desolated hillock (Langudi) adjacent to a nearby metal road running from Patapur to Mirzapur. Stylistically, the lone headless and ten armed Mahisamardini Durga resembles the identical prototypes at Jajpur, Baliapal, Panchupandav, Paradipgarh, Nathuabara, Prachivalley, Bhubaneswar, in Orissa approximately pointing to the circa 11th century A.D.

Conclusion

Summarizing the whole, we may euphemistically substantiate that the newly discovered rare rock-cut Buddhist monuments at Langudi hill in the form of the stupas, and the spectacular sculptures of Buddha, Padmapani Bodhisattva, Tara and Prajnaparamita in close resemblance with those of the rock-cut also relievos of thrice bent (Tribhanga) standing colossal statues of Buddha in Abhaya Mudra, two-armed, seated Manjusri Vajrasattva Adi-Buddha, and four-armed seated Kurkulla, magnificently displayed in a row on the peak of the Solapuama hill adjacent to Kalasri-Gopalpur village, as well as a single rock-cut Dhyani Buddha (Amitabh) in *Samadhi Mudra,* exhibitted on the sloping summit of the Parabhadi peak of Lalitgiri, however, nurture and nourish the extraordinary artistic wonder and architectual romanticism in the contemporary early medieval Mahayana Buddhist Tantric religio-cultural aesthetic world.

On the basis of archaeological exploration and intensive field study, the antiquities discovered so far from the peak of the Langudi hill reveal extraordinary antiquarian gravity and omnipotence ranging from circa 7th-8th century A.D. to the circa 10th-11th century A.D. as corroborated by the most important and informative archaeological findings comprising the black, greyish black, reddish brown and deep red laminated potsherds, the convincing hoard of late Mahayana Tantric Buddhist (Vajrayana) masculine and femine divinities as well as the full fledged burnt bricks measuring 16.5" x 9.5" x 3", as already eye-witnessed at Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitgiri.

However, the unique and unparallelled hoards of the magnificent rock cut Buddhist monuments in shape of stupas, chaityas, and the attractive

sculptures of Buddha and other Buddhist divinities at Langudi hill, could have witnessed a wonder in the annals of the early medieval Eastern Indian art and architecture in general as well as in the contemporary early medieval Mahayana Tantric Buddhist religio-cultural aesthetic world in particular nurturing the lingering trends of the traditional western Indian style of Buddhist art and architecture as reflected in Karle, Kanheri, Bhaja, Pitalkhora, Ajanta, (all in the state of Maharastra), Bagh (in Madhyapradesh) in general and the cave No. 12 of Ellora in particular (Maharastra).[13]

Visiting the rare rock-cut Buddhist hillock, an outstanding art critic, veteran archaeologist and renowened historian of international repute Prof. Dr. Karunasagar Behera, the Professor and Head of the P.G. teaching department of history, Utkal University, Vanivihar, however comments that "The Langudi hill, situated in Dharmasala Thana of the newly constituted Jajatinagar district (Jajpur) (formerely in Cuttack district), Orissa, happens to be a rare and potential rock-cut Buddhist establishment of post-Gupta period or early Bhaumakara period of circa 6th-7th centuries A.D. onwards yielding a convincing hoard of Buddhist monuments, even unparallelled and unsurpassed in their extraordinary superb delicate workmanship throughout the South Eastern India."

Such a potential and rare rock-cut Buddhist site, Langudi, which can be visited on foot or by vehicles along a well furnished motorable road running from Jaraka Chhak to Mirzapur in eastward direction at an approximate probable distance of about 8 kilometres, must be preserved, protected and safeguarded by the Government of Orissa in particular and even by the Government of India under the meticulous care of the Archaeological Survey of India (A.S.I.) as a centrally protected monument so as to preserve it from the frequent deprederations, repeated denudations, and the senseless vandalism perpetrated by the hands of the miscreants and the curio-hunters, the mischievous icon seekers and the unscrupulous quarry diggers.

Selected References

1. *Modern Buddhism and Its Followers* by Dr. N.N. Vasu, Page No. 19.
2. *Buddhist Monuments*, by Dr. Debala Mitra, Page No. 11.
3. Ibid, Page No. 61, Photoplate No. 64.
4. Ibid, Page No. 67.
5. Vide Lalitgiri Museum.
6. *The Origin of Buddha Image* by Dr. A.K. Coomarswamy. Page No. 29. *Buddhist Art in India*, Gurunwedel, pp. 80, 120 ff., 133, H. Kern. *Manual*

of Indian Buddhism, pp. 62, 95, *Buddhist Records of the Western World,* Samuel Beal, p. 1.

7. Ibid, Page No. 3 & *India Buddhist Iconography,* by Dr. B. Bhattacarya, Page No. 3.
8. Ibid, Dr. B. Bhattacarya, Page No. 135.
9. Ibid, B. Bhattacarya, Page No. 84-86.
10. Ibid, B. Bhattacarya, Page No. 8.
11. Dr. D.C. Bhattacarya, *Buddhist Shrines* pp. 10-11. and Dr. Rhys & Davids, Buddhist Birth stories, Page No. 101. London, 1880.
12. *Indian Buddhist Iconography* by Dr. B. Bhattacarya, Page No. 4.
13. *Buddhist Monuments* Dr. Debala Mitra, Page No. 188, Pl No. 116.

Tantric Buddhism in Orissa

Surendra Kumar Moharana*

Buddhism as observed by Dr. N. Dutt, an eminent scholar of Buddhism, is really not one but three religions, namely Śrāvakayāna or Hīnayána. Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna, each one having different religious beliefs, practices and doctrines.[1] Śrāvakayana or Hinayana, which is the earliest phase of Buddhism was more ethical than philosophical having been confined to strict monasticism and ethical rigorism. In the historical evolution of Buddhism, Mahayāna with its more liberal doctrine and generous ideal of the final goal was altruistic and highly philosophical and thereby could capture the minds of the people to a greater extent than Hīnayāna and gained rapid popularity. Tantrayāna, the latest phase of Buddhism was the combined form of Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna and Kālachakrayāna. It evolved a deep esoteric practice although it was representing the subtle philosophy of Mahayāna in outline. Orissa played an important role in the growth and development of each of these three phases of Buddhism.

It is a known fact that Buddha did not visit Orissa (known as Utkal, Kalinga and Odra in the long past) as no information in support of his visit is avilable in the old or later works of Buddhism. But Kalinga was not unknown to him for it is revealed from some Chinese sources that he declared Kalinga as one of the twelve places where perfection could be easily attained.[2] Besides, his religion was quite known to the people of Utkala as this was the home land of two merchant brothers named Tapassu and Bhallika, who were the first lay-disciples of Buddha[3] and erected two magnificent *stūpas* known as Keśastūpa and Nakhastūpa.[4]

After Buddha's *mahāparinirvaṇa* there arose disputes among the monks regarding the relaxation of some strict *Vinaya*-rules. This led at last to a schism during the second Council at Vaisali and thus came into existence two separate schools of Buddhism - Hīnayāna and Mahāsāṅghika. The Mahāsāṅghikas were the fore-runners of Mahayānism.

The origin and meaning of the terms Mahayāna and Hīnayāna are uncertain. Literally *yana* means way, method of transport or vehicle. The Hīnayānists called themselves the Theravādins. The Mahāyānists invented these two terms and styled their school as Mahāyāna or Great

* Department of Finance, Orissa Secretariate, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.

Yāna and called the Theravādin's school as Hīnayāna or Small *Yāna*. In Asanga's *Mahāyāna Sūtrālankāra*[5] Hīnayāna has been characterised as a religion of narrow systems.

The Kalinga war is considered as a landmark in the history of Buddhism since this war was mostly responsible for the conversion of Asoka into Buddhism, who later on succeeded in his mission of making the religion popular in and outside India. The very soil of Kalinga which thus proved itself to be a great stimulus to the growth and spread of the faith, undoubtedly had also come in contact with the faith in the pre-Asokan period.

In Orissa Hīnayāna Buddhism was in prominence as late as the 7th century A.D. Some famous teachers appeared among the Hīnayānists by the time, although king Harsavardhana was eager to discredit the Hīnayānists in Orissa. There flourished in Orissa Prājñagupta, a great teacher of Hīnayānic faith in the late 6th century A.D., who composed a treatise of 700 *ślokas* dogmatically challenging the Mahayānic system. This was considered to be a great authentic work by the Hīnayānic priests of Orissa, who presented the same to the king Harsavardhana as a boastful challenge.[6]

The most important change in thought and outlook of Mahāyāna as contrasted with Hīnayāna is the conception of final goal. According to the Hīnayānists the Arhathood or the final liberation of the self from the whirl of existence is to be achieved through strict ethical discipline and the process of *dhyāna* or meditation. To them Buddha was only a historical personage or an *arhat* and superior to Bhahmā, Viṣṇu and Indra. The Hīnayānic conception finds expression in the *Anguttar Nikāya* in the following manner - "He is neither a god, nor a Gandharvá, nor a Yaksa, he is Buddha."[7] The Mahāsāṅghika school, however, maintained a very different conception of Buddhology. The allusion available in Hīnayānic scriptures as to the spiritual entity of Buddha found vigorous expression in the Mahāsāṅghika texts. To the Mahāsāṅghikas Buddha was not a historical personage, but an ultimate principle. He was *lokottara* and superior to the world.[8] Emphasis was laid on the supra-mundane character of Buddha and there developed the concept of Bodhisattvas, who though fit to attain *Nirvāṇa,* refused the same till all sentient beings were delivered from sufferings. With this new ideology, the goal of life from Arhat-hood to Buddhahood was changed.

In subsequent time other ideas appeared on the horizon and the new literature of Mahayāna called *pāramitā* sprang up. The ideas of *pāramitās* gradually effected a drastic change in thought and outlook of Buddhism

and thus paved the way for the growth of a vastly developed literature named *Prajñāpāramitā*. The *Prajñāpāramitās* are of a great importance in ascertaining the origin and development of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Hence the time and place of the composition of the earliest *Prajñāpāramitā* may be tentatively taken as the actual time and place of origin of Mahāyāna. The earliest work of this kind, as supported by scholars, is the *Daśasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* which was translated into Chinese as early as 179 A.D.[9] But as no such *Prajñāparamitā* is known to have been in existence, scholars expressing the above view have mistaken the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* as the *Daśasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* and as such the *Aṣṭasahasrika-Prajñāpāramitā* is decidely the earliest work of the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature.[10] On the basis of the evidences yielded by some old texts like the *Gandavyūha*, the *Lankāvatāra*, etc. and their Chinese translations etc. Dr. N. Dutt, an eminent scholar of Buddhism, is disposed to express that Mahāyāna Buddhism had its origin and early propagation in *Daksināpatha* which included Kalinga as also Tosali, the ancient capital of Orissa and the latest date of such propagation cannot be beyond the first century of the Christian era.[11]

The fact that Orissa was the birth place of Mahayāna Buddhism and its earliest literature was the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* is corroborated by Tārānātha, the Tibetan historian.[12]

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, who visited India from 629 A.D. to 645 A.D. has expressed to have come across 'Mahāyānist Sthaviras' in Kalinga.[13] He further expresses that in Kalinga the number of Buddhist monasteries was not more than ten and the Buddhist monks five hundred, who all belonged to Mahāyanā school.[14] Similarly, according to him, Buddhism was in a thriving condition in South Kosala, where existed one hundred monasteries and somewhat less than 10,000 monks of Mahāyāna school.[15]

The popular hold of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Orissa can be shown by throwing some light on the historical growth of the magnificent monasteries and other centres of Mahāyāna Buddhism which were truly the seats of culture and education in Orissa and the learned sages and philosophers used to impart both religious and secular instructions to the people and the scholars in these monastic institutions. The *Gaṇḍavyūha*, a purely Mahāyānic text of the 3rd century A.D., gives a vivid description of the city of Tosali, where there was a hill named Surabhagiri with a monastic establishment, with which the renowned sage Sarvagāmin was associated.[16] Phonetically the terms Tosali and Dhauli are identical and hence the modern Dhauli in Orissa was known as Tosali in the past. Some other famous monastic institutions in Orissa

which need mention was Jagaddala *Vihāra* (Jagadalpur in the district of Puri) Tamralipti (now Tamluk in Midnapore district of West Bengal, which previously continued as a river-port under Mayurbhanj State), *Che-li-tā-lo* (Sriksetra Puri), Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, Lalitagiri, Solanapur (Solampur near Jajpur), Jayasrama, Soro, Kupari, Ayodhya, Kurum, etc. Similarly some of the illustrious philosophers of Mahāyāna faith, who resided in Orissa and earned wide name and fame, were Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Diññāga, Vasubandhu, Vasumitra, Triratnadāsa, Dharmapāla, Dharmakīrtti, Chandragomin, Śāntideva, etc.

Mahāyāna Buddhism, as already discussed, was more catholic than Hīnayāna and the apostles of Mahayana had to make it so to attract all sorts of people of the society. For all those people, who were of different tastes and intllectual calibre, it was necessary to make suitable provisions within the fold of Mahāyāna Buddhism. For this reason heterogeneous elements of faith and religious practices began to creep into Buddhism in general and Mahāyāna in particular. In this regard Dr. S.B. Dasgupta observes - "For ordinary people religion consists in the belief in innumerable gods and goddesses, in time-honoured customs, muttering of mystic formulas and in the paraphernalia of rites, ceremonies and practices; when through the zeal of liberating all the beings from the bondage of existence Mahāyāna began to be too much popularised, all these popular religious elements of heterogeneous nature began to be incorporated into Buddhism."[17]

The less-advanced or ordinary followers of Buddhism could not follow the original aphorism of Buddhism and for them it was felt necessary to abridge *Sūtra* into *Dhāranī*, which is an element of *Mantra* and whose literal meaning is that by which something is sustained or kept up *(dhāryate anayā iti)* i.e. the mystic syllable capable of keeping up man's religious life which is known as the synonym of the term *Rakṣa* in Sanskrit. These ordinary followers had to commit to memory and recite the *Dhāranīs* regularly which, they were convinced, were in possession of immense power to produce infinite merit in the reciters and conferring desired benefit on them. We find that the entire Chapter XXI of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarika,* a Mahāyānic work of the first century A.D. contains *Dhāranīs,* which is supposed to be a late addition by De La Vallee Poussin.[18] Similarly the *Mañjusrīmūlakalpa* is another example of Mahāyāna-*Sūtras* remodelled into Tantras and Prof. G. Tucci adduces another example pointing out that the *Suvarna Prabhāsa Sūtra* which was translated by Dharmakṣema into Chinese in the first half the 5th century, is quite trantric in its contents, formulae and rites.[19]

When some elements of Tantrism in the form of *dhāranī, mantra, mudrā, maṇḍala,* etc. were allowed to make their way into Buddhism, many other traditional beliefs in magic, charms and sorceries with all their accessories began to rush quickly into it, as a result of which the composite system of the religion changed the colour and tone of the later Mahāyāna to the extent of evolving a new Yāna, which is popularly known as Tantrayana. Thus Tantrayāna which is used in a general sense for Tantric Buddhism grew within the province of Mahāyāna or in other words Mahāyāna was the introductory stage of Tantric Buddhism and the later phase of Mahāyāna witnessed the fullfiledged development of Tantric Buddhism. Incidentally Tantric Buddhism incorporated within it the sexo-yogic practices, the six kinds of esoteric rituals technically referred to as *abhichāra,* the five accessories known as *pañcha-ma-kāra* etc. The sexo-yogic practices came to be regarded as the most important esoteric practices for the attainment of the final state of supreme bliss, all other practices being held as preparatory accessories. The six types of esoteric rituals or *abhichāra* are intended for the good or evil of anybody especially for the purpose of fulfilment of the desires of *sādhakas.* Those are *māraṇa* (killing), *mohana* (enchanting), *sthambhana* (paralysing), *vidveṣaṇa* (envying or rendering harm through animosity), *ucchātana* (exciting) and *vaśīkarana* (subduing). The *pañcha-ma-kāra* or the five *m*'s include *madya* (wine), *māṁsa* (meat), *matsya* (fish), *mudrā* (parched cereal/woman) and *maithuna* (sexual intercourse).[20]

From the full-fledged development of Tantric Buddhism all other offshoots like Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna and Kālacakrayāna arose. There is difference of opinion among the scholars as to the chronology of these three later schools. All scholars agree in giving Vajrayāna the earlier place; but they differ in placing Sahajayāna and Kālacakrayāna in sequence of time. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya and Dr. P.C. Bagchi suggest that Sahajayāna developed earlier than Kālacakrayāna,[21] while Dr. S.B. Dasagupta and Dr. N.K. Sahu maintain that Kālacakrayāna preceded Sahajayana.[22] The latter group of scholars have contributed erudite discourses through the pages of their books on these schools regarding the order of development. But so far as the historical evolution of these latter schools is concerned, the order suggested by the former scholars seems to be correct. The propounders of Vajrayāna, Sahajayana and Kalacakrayana were Indrabhuti, Lakṣmīnkarā and Pitopāda respectively, all of them belonged to Uddiyāna, the same as Orissa and historically they are given the position in the orders of chronology - Indrabhuti, Lakṣmīnkarā and Pitopāda.

Vajrayāna

Literally the term Vajrayāna is the 'adamantine path or vehicle', but technically it means *'Sūnya* Vehicle' where *Sūnya* is used in a special sense to represent *Vajra. Sūnya* is called *Vajra* for the reason that "it is firm, sound, unaltered, unpierceable, impenetrable, incombustible and indestructible."[23] The *Sūnya* referred to by the Vajrayānists in all their writings is not the exact Sūnya as conceived by the Mādhyamikas to whom both the subject and the object are *Sūnya* in essence, and neither mind nor the external world bear any reality.[24] This aspect was not, however, acceptable by the Vajrayānists; because they were in search of a positive aspect in the *Sūnyatā*. In the *Sādhanamālā* the word Vajrayāna is characterised as the 'path which leads to perfect enlightenment' which may be termed as *'Anuttara Samyaka Sambodhi'* in Sanskrit.[25]

The idea of Mahayāna Buddhism began to develop consciously or unconsciously into the ideas of Vajrayāna Buddhism. The Dharmakāya Buddha of the Mahayānists seems to have been gradually placed by the Vajrasattva or Vajrakāya of the Vajrayānists. The Vajrasattva is generally taken as the Supreme Being in Tantric Buddhism and many of the Tantras open with salutations to the Lord Supreme. All the Buddhist Tantras begin with a galaxy of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, etc. encircling the Lord Supreme to listen to him and the Lord Supreme is none but the Vajrasattva himself.

With the evolution of the idea of the Vajrasattva, another new idea known as the theory of the five *Dhyānī*-Buddhas was introduced. The five *Dhyānī*-Buddhas are of five different families *(Kulas)* with their *Śaktis.* The families are *Moha,* presided over by the *Dhyānī*-Buddha Vairochana with his Śakti Vajradhātvīsvarī; *Dveṣa,* presided over by the Dhyānī-Buddha Aksobhya with his *Śakti* Lochanā; *Chintāmani,* presided over by the *Dhyānī*-Buddha Ratnasambhava with his *Śakti* Māmakī; *Rāga,* presided over by the *Dhyānī*-Buddha Amitābha with his *Śakti* Paṇḍarā and *Samaya,* presided over by the *Dhyānī*-Budha Amoghasiddhi with his *Śakti* Āryatārā.[26] Thus for the first time, the worship of *Śaktis* was introduced into Buddhism by the Vajrayānists with which a host of elements including a large number of gods and goddesses, their *Sādhanas,* panegyrics, etc. were also found occupying suitable places in Buddhism.[27]

Siddha Indrabhuti, the king of Uddiyāna is regarded as the propounder of Vajrayāna and to his authorship several tantric works of Vajrayānic importance are attributed, of which at least twenty-three are preserved in the pages of Tibetan *Tangyur* in translations. The *Jñānasiddhi,*[28] one

of the tantric texts composed by him in Sanskrit contains twenty-two chapters and brings to light numerous leading tenets and rites of Vajrayāna. This esteemed work opens with an invocation to Lord Jagannātha, in which Jagannātha has been prayed as Buddha. We also find mentions of Lord Jagannātha in four other verses of this work.[29]

Sahajayāna

The literal meaning of the word *Sahaja* is that, which is inborn or which originates with the birth or origination of any entity *(Sahajāyate iti Sahaja)*.[30] The *Hevajra Tantra* also expresses the same connotation, i.e. that which accompanies with the birth is *Sahaja*. Dr. N.K. Sahu defines Sahajayāna in the following manner -"The word *Sahaja* literally means that which accompanies with the birth and manifests itself as the primitive and natural propensities in man. The path that helps man to realise the truth through satisfying these inborn and fundamental propensities is therefore, the most natural and easiest of all paths and hence, it is called the *Sahaja* path or Sahajayāna."[31] Dr. S.B. Dasgupta derives both the primary and the secondary meaning of the word *Sahaja* as "what is natural is the easiest and thus *Sahaja*, from its primary meaning of being natural, requires the secondary meaning of being easy, straight or plain."[32] Thus Sahajayāna or *Sahaja* path is the easy or straight path which is called *Rājapatha* (royal road) by Śāntipāda.[33]

Laksmīnkarā or Bhagavatī Laksmī is regarded as the propounder of Sahajayāna. She was the sister of *Siddha* Indrabhuti, the propounder of Vajrayāna. She married the son of Jalendra, the king of Lankāpuri. She preached very peculiar and novel doctrines and was very bold in preaching them in a short but interesting work entitled *Advayasiddhi*. This new teaching could attract many people, who in due course, were turned into its upholders and were known as *Sahajiyās*, the teachings of Laksmīnkarā they followed being Sahajayāna This work reveals that she was influenced by the *Jñānasiddhi* composed by her brother to a great extent and as such was his favourite disciple.

In this work the authoress seems to have revolted against the systems of Vajrayāna. She boldly refused the worship of gods and goddesses which was a remarkable feature of Vajrayāna represented through the five *Dhyānī*-Buddhas and their innumerable emanations. She appears to be very bold when she "declares that no suffering, no fastings, no bathing, no purification, no other rules of society are necessary, nor do you need to bow down before the images of gods, which are prepared of wood, stone or mud; you should with concentration offer worship to your own body, where all gods reside."[34]

Among the *Siddhacāryas* who have been given place in the list of eighty-four *Siddhas*, some were the poets of *Caryā* songs and *Dohā* songs depicting in them the tenets of Sahajayāna and the mystic culture of Buddhism. Many of these *Siddhācaryas* belonged to Orissa and closely associated with Orissa in some way or other. Sarahapāda, Nāgārjuna, Savarīpāda, Luipā, Vajraghantapā, Kambalapāda, Padmavajra, Anangavajra, Padmasambhava, Jālandharīpāda, Virūpā, Kanhupā, Lilavajra, Dārikāpāda, Abhayākaragupta, Jñānamitra, Bhusukupāda, etc., were distinguished *Sahajīyā Siddhas* and connected with the mystic culture of Orissa.

Kalacakrayana

This latest phase of Tantrayāna has become a controversial issue among the scholars who have not been able to explain its nature. Though this term is very often met with in tantric texts, the materials available in this respect are so scanty that it is quite impossible to arrive at a decision for forming a concrete definition and explaining the characteristics of this school.

The word *Kālacakra* literally means the wheel of time. "The word *Kala* means time, death and destruction. Kālachakra is the wheel of destruction"-opines Mm. Haraprasada Shastri[35] and for this opinion he seems to be influenced by the idea expressed in the *Tantrāloka* (Chapter VI) of Abhinava Gupta.

The theory of Kālachakra as discussed in the *Tantrāloka* has also been explained minutely in another tantric work entitled *Sri Kālachakratantra,* a manuscript of which is preserved in the Cambridge University Library and has been thoroughly gone through by Dr. S.B. Dasgupta, a learned scholar, whose contribution to the study of Tantric Buddhism is worth commending. Dr. Dasgupta[36] says that in the beginning of the text king Suchandra with due homage asked the omniscient Lord Buddha about the *Yoga* of *Śrī Kālacakra,* which is the way to the salvation of all people of the *Kaliyuga.* The Lord then explained the secret *Yoga* which is not known to anybody else and which, with all the accessories of mystic circle *(maṇḍala),* resides within the body. Then the Lord added how all the universe with all the objects and localities were situated within the body and how time *(Kāla)* in its phases, viz day, night, fortnight, month, year, etc. are within the body in the process of the vital wind *(prāṇa-vayu).*

According to the *Laghukālacakra-tantrarāja-ṭīkā* entitled *Vimalaprabhā,* the commentary of the *Kālachakra Tantra,*[37] Kālacakra is a deity and an embodiment of *Śūnyatā* and *Karuṇā* and is embraced by the goddess Prajñā and represents the philosophical conception of *advaya* or non-

duality. He is regarded as the *Ādi*-Buddha or the progenitor even of the Buddhas, that is to say, the Dhyānī-Buddhas. He is in possession of three *Kāyas,* the knower of the three times *(Trikāla* - past, present and future), the omniscient. It is understood from the *Kālacakra Tantra* that the *maṇḍala* (circle) of the deity is composed of all the planets and stars and the book, therefore, is directly connected with astronomy and astrology and thus astronomy and astrology came to be associated with the practice of *Yoga.*[38] The central deity Kālachakra, as indicated by the very name, is sanctioned by such minor deities, which represent time or time factor. Mañjuśrī is attributed to be the introducer of the *Kālachakra Tantra* and one Puṇḍarika of the *Vimalaprabhā,* the commentary of the *Kālacakra Tantra.*[39]

In the *Sekoddeśa-tīkā*[40] which is a commentary on the Sekoddeśa section of the *Kālacakra-tantra,* every syllable of the term *Kālacakra* is said to have been teeming with a meaning and *Kā-la,* the first two syllables ultimately mean the state of Sūnyatā, which is the pure consciousness or the principle of subjectivity. *Cakra* expresses the meaning, the principle of knowability or the cycle of the world-process, which is the principle of *Upāya* and hence *Kālacakra* means the absolutely unified principle of *Prajñā* and *Upāya.*[41]

The *Pag Sam Jon Zang*[42] reveals that on being instructed by Vajrapāni, *Ācharya* Pitopā (Bitoba) went to Sambhala through magic and brought the *Kālacakra-tantra* from that place to Ratnagiri Vihara and explained the doctrine to *Bhiksu* Abadhutipā, Bodhiśrī and Naropā, Another reference (Blue Annals composed between A.D. 1476-1478) corroborates the fact that the *Kālacakra-tantra* was in prevalence in Ratnagiri Vihāra and it was read by *Ācharya* Tsi-lu-pā (Cheluka). *Ācharya* Cheluka was born in Orissa and studied important Buddhist scriptures at Ratnagiri Vihara, Vikramasila and Nalanda.[43] The Ratnagiri *Vihara* of Orissa played an important role in the emergence and development of the *Kālacakra-tantra.* Dr. Debala Mitra, a distinguished scholar has stated in this connection- "These Tibetan references would indicate that Ratnagiri became a renowned academic centre, noted for the spiritual inspiration and likely pursuit of the *Kālacakra-tantra* in the latter part of the tenth century A.D. The importance of this institution is attested by the fact that celebrated savants (like Naropā or Naro-pa, an elder contemporary of Atiśa Dipankara) and scholars of different parts of India resorted to this establishment for imparting and receiving Buddhist religion and philosophy. That Vajrayāna and its offshoot Kalacakrayana found a strong footing at Ratnagiri is fully corroborated by excavations which yielded, apart from religious edifices, numerous votive *stupas* with the reliefs of

divinities of the Vajrayāna pantheon, separate images of these divinities and inscribed stone slabs and moulded terracotta plaques with *dhāranīs*. In the overwhelming number of votive *stūpas,* Ratnagiri can even compete with Bodh-Gaya, the holiest of the Buddhist centres. The number of these antiquities is an adequate index of the profound popularity and sanctity of the centre in the Buddhist world."[44]

Uḍḍiyāna Pītha

Kamakhya, Sirihaṭṭa, Pūrṇagiri and Uḍḍiyāna are four tantric *pīṭhas* or places of tantric importance of the Vajrayānists as mentioned in the *Sādhanamālā*.[45] Among those four *pīṭhas* Uḍḍiyāna is the most important *pitha* and most frequently mentioned by the Hindu Tantras alike. Most of the philosophers and scholars who are responsible for the introduction and growth of Tantric Buddhism are found connected with the territory of Uḍḍiyāna.

Scholars are divided among themselves as to the location of Uḍḍiyāna, which is also spelt as Oḍḍiyāna, Oḍiyāna, Odrayana, etc.[46] Mm. H.P. Shastri definitely placed it in Orissa.[47] B. Bhattacharyya accepts this identification and further infers that Uḍḍiyāna, being one of the four *pīṭhas* sacred to the Vajrayānists, should be atleast near Kāmākhyā (Kāmrūpa) and Śirihaṭṭa (Sylhet) in Assam and it is unusual to think that all these four *pithas* received their sanctity from the temples dedicated to Vajrayogini.[48] Prof. M. Winternitz also accepts Orissa as Uḍḍiyāna with a mark of interrogation.[49] But R.M. Nath identifies Uḍḍiyāna with Hojai in the Nowgang district of Assam,[50] while according to N.N. Dasgupta Uḍḍiyāna is located in or identified with the Chittaganga region of Bengal.[51] L.A. Waddell identifies this place with Udyana in the Swat valley at Kabul on the North-west of India.[52] Scholars like professors Sylvan Levi[53] and P.C. Bagchi[54] strongly hold the view of Prof. Waddell.

Dr. N.K. Sahu, in his monumental work *Buddhism in Orissa* has shown how the aforesaid scholars are mistaken in identifying the tantric *pīṭha* and by adducing strong arguments from traditional, historical, literary and epigraphical sources proved that Orissa was the most important tantric pīṭha, where Tantric Buddhism grew and developed[55] and probably was transmitted to other three pīṭhas - Kāmākhyā, Sirihaṭṭa and Pūrṇagiri and hence to the rest of India[56] and ultimately beyond the sea.

Dr. K.C. Panigrahi, another historian of Orissa is not prepared to accept what Dr. Sahu has argued as to the identification of Uḍḍiyāna and places like Sambhala, Lankā, etc. connected with it.[57] He, finding no unanimity among the scholars about the location of the place, has

highlighted the views of scholars like Dr. Bagchi and Prof. Levi which are aimed at identifying Uḍḍiyāna with a place other than Orissa and has tried to prove Dr. Sahu's arguments futile, which are quite justified with literary and epigraphical evidences and accepted by scholars till today without any challenge. It is interesting that Dr. Panigrahi has not thrown any new light nor has he arrived at any specific conclusion as to the identification of Uḍḍiyāna.

Deities

Since Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna had a long career in Orissa, the evolution of a new pantheon of gods and goddesses in Buddhism gave full scope to the creative genius of the artists and sculptors of the early medieval Orissa, who shaped them in conformity with the widely varied Buddhist iconography and gave them a place of honour in the monasteries and other sanctuaries of Buddhist importance. Buddhist sites like Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, Lalitagiri, Kuruma, Achutrajpur, Aragarh, etc. have yielded icons belonging to Tantric Buddhism. Besides, a survey of the Prāchī valley of Puri and Cuttack districts has brought to light so many gods and goddesses of Tantrayāna suggesting the prevalence of the pantheon in the entire valley.

An image of the fourth Dhyānī-Buddha Amitābha, which is now worshipped in the Ṣolapuamā temple of the Pilgrim Road in Cuttack town was acquired from Udayagiri. The image of Amoghasiddhi, the fifth *Dhyānī*-Buddha which was brought from G. Udayagiri is now lodged in the Jayadeva Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. Vajrasattva is considered as the sixth *Dhyānī*-Buddha in Nepal. An image of this god is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. This was acquired from Solampur in the district of Balasore. Amongst a fairly large number of sculptures excavated from the debris round the main *stūpa* at Ratnagiri there exists an image of Vajrasattva. In the Achutrājpur hoard of bronzes housed in the Jayadeva Orissa State Museum, there exist five icons of Vajrasattva.

In the Buddhist pantheon, Lokeśvara or Avalokiteśvara is very famous as a Bodhisattva, who emanates from the *Dhyānī*-Buddha Amitābha. At almost all the places of Orissa which were of Buddhist importance in the past, images of Avalokiteśvara of different varieties like Khasarapaṇa, Jaṭāmukutā, Siṃhanāda, Lokanātha, Śankhapāni, Śankhanātha, etc. are met with.

Padmapāni is a Bodhisattva, the icons of which are seen in abundance in Lalitagiri. An image of Padmapāni is found at the site of Ratnagiri. In the Hanumāna temple at Māhānga, an image of Padmapāni Bodhisattva

is found. Such an image recovered from the village Bāneswarnāsi in the district of Cuttack is preserved in the Jayadeva Orissa State Museum. In the premises of F.M. College, Balasore such an image is also seen firmly planted to the ground. From the ruins of Buddhist establishment at Vajragiri in the district of Cuttack two images of Padmapāni have been shifted to the Orissa State Museum for proper preservation and display.

Vajrapāni is the principal Bodhisattva of the Vajra family presided over by the Dhyānī-Buddha Akṣobhya. An image of Vajrapāni was collected by the late R.P. Chanda for the Indian Museum, Calcutta from the collection of a loc;al *Zamindar* of Kendrapara. Another such image from Vajragiri is now preserved in the Jayadeva Orissa State Museum.

Mañjuśrī, the god of Learning is considered the oldest Bodhisattva and as such occupies an important place in the Buddhist pantheon. The collection of the late R.P. Chanda for the Indian Museum, Calcutta included one Sthīracakra Mañjuśrī. Another image of this variety is seen at Lalitagiri. A worn-out image of Arapachana Mañjuśrī brought from Khiching has been lodged in the Baripada Museum. From the ruins of Ratnagiri a metal image identified with Mahārājalīla Mañjuśrī has been discovered. An image of Mañjuśrī has been discovered from the debris of Ayodhya in the district of Balasore and kept among other antiquities in the newly constructed Jayadurgā (Mārīchī) temple. The bronze hoard from Achutrajpur includes at least four icons of Mañjuśrī. Of the four icons recovered from the paddy field of Aragarh in the district of Puri in 1954, all the three multi-headed icons belong to Manjusri group.

Bodhisattva Maitreya is the future Buddha. He is not a Buddha as yet and is waiting in the Tuṣita heaven as a Bodhisattva in oder to come down to earth in human from in future as Buddha. In the sculpture-shed at Lalitagiri an elegantly carved image of Maitreya is preserved. A bronze image of Maitreya is found at Baudh. Out of the hoard of bronze icons recovered from Achutrājpur three icons have been identified with Maitreya.

Heruka is the most popular and powerful god amongst the membes of the Dveṣa family, of which Akṣobhya is the progenitor. Among so many tantric images found at Ratnagiri, there is an icon of two-armed Heruka. In the Sambalpur University Museum an icon of a Heruka is preserved, which once fromed part of the collection of Padmaśrī L.N. Sahu of Chaudwar. Among the bronze images from Achutrājpur one can be identified with Heruka.

Trailokyavijaya is a rare Buddhist god. An icon preserved in the Achutrājpur bronze hoard has been identified with Trailokyavijaya. Dr. Debala Mitra has identified it with Vajrahuṇkāra. But she is not sure as to its identification for she puts a mark of interrogation after its name. This is a peculiar icon with a number of iconographical deviations and as such it is difficult to arrive at a concrete decision as to its identification. However, it is safe to identify the deity with Trailokyavijaya for he displays the *Trailokyavijaya-mudrā,* but not the *Vajrahunkāra-mudrā.* (Slight difference lies between the two *mudrās).*

Yamāri (the enemy of Yama) is otherwise known as Yamāntaka (the destroyer of Yama) and is fierce in appearance. A dwarfish image recovered from Ratnagiri is a variety of Kṛṣṇayamāri. A metal image of this variety has also been discovered from the ruins of Ratnagiri. At Yamadharma-pīṭha of Kuruma in Puri district a Kṛṣṇayamāri is under active worship in the name of Yama.

Jambhala, the Buddhist god of wealth is seen at various Buddhist sites of Orissa. A worn-out Jambhala image is seen fixed to the wall of the inner gate of the Jagannātha temple at Baripada. On the outer wall of Ratnagiri *Mahāvihāra* there is an image of Jambhala. The recent excavation at Udayagiri has exposed an image of Jambhala. Two images of Jambhala are met with in the Prāchī valley - one in the village of Badatara near Gop and the other one smaller in size is found attached to the elevated *chaurā* wall of the Arkatīrtha Maṭha near Niali. In the bronze hoard recovered from Achutrājpur and subsequently housed in Jayadeva Orissa State Museum, one icon Jambhala is found preserved.

Vaiśravaṇa is a *Yakṣa* attendant of Jambhala, the god of wealth. From the brick mounds of Udayagiri an image of Vaiśravaṇa was acquired for the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Pañchika is a *Yakṣa* and the consort of Hāritī. He resembles Jambhala in attributes as both of them are Yakṣas. An image of Pañchika has been found at Ratnagiri.

Sambara is a ferocious god with a garland of skulls, three round eyes and the garment of tiger skin. An image of Sambara from Ratnagiri is seen now in the Patna Museum. It is twelve-armed and tramples upon two Brahmanical deities, Bhairava and Kālaratri in the *Ālidha* posture. Dr. Debala Mitra has discussed this deity at length in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal,* Vol. IX, Nos. 3 & 4.

The worship of the goddess Prajñāpāramitā was very popular among the Buddhists. At the Buddhist site of Ratnagiri a small image of

Prajñāpāramitā is found. A life-size image of this goddess recovered from Banesvaranasi near Narasinghpur has been lodged in the Padmesvara temple. At the time of renovation of Tāladaṇḍā canal at Tarapur, an image of this goddess has been discovered. In the village Betenda near Nayahata in the Prāchī valley, an image identified with Pīta-Prajñāpāramitā is enshrined in a small temple.

Tārā is a common name applied to a large number of feminine deities in the Buddhist pantheon. In the published *Sādhanamālā,* Jaṇguli, Parṇaśavarī, Khadiravaṇi and many others are called Tārā. Among the group of Buddhist images dug out at Solampur in Balasore district and fixed to the outer walls of the modern Raghunatha temple, there is one two-armed image of Tārā. Of the two icons of Tārā recovered from Banesvaranasi, one has found its way to the Patna Museum. In the village of Kaupur in the district of Balasore, an image of Tārā is lying under a tree. Some figures of Tārā have been acquired for the Orissa State Museum from Ayodhyā in the district of Balasore. From the most promising site at Achutrajpur in the district of Puri an image of Tārā has been acquired and kept inside the premises of the Godāvarīśa Vidyāpīṭha. The goddess Tāriṇī, worshipped at Banapur in Puri district is, no doubt, a Tārā. Beautiful images of Tārā are seen at Ratnagiri and the largest one among them has been shifted to the Patna Museum. At Chauduar a Khadiravaṇi Tārā image is seen. Another image of this variety, which was recovered from the ruins of Udayagiri is now found in the Patna Museum. Inside the compound of the Rāmeśvara temple at Baudh a seated image worshipped as Ugratārā is identified with Mahattarī Tārā. In the Uttaresvara temple at Ayodhya an image of Vajratārā is preserved. An image of Durgottāriṇī Tārā, which was collected from Kendrapara is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. In the Prachi valley innumerable Tārā images have come to notice. Among the bronzes from Achutrajpur as many as seventeen icons have been identified with Tārā.

Pāṇḍara, who is also known as Pandaravasini is the spiritual consort of the *Dhyānī*-Buddha Amitābha. An icon found in the Achutrajpur hoard is identified with Pāṇḍarā.

Nairātmā, a female deity worshipped by the Tantric Buddhists looks terrible with bare fangs, triple round eyes and a protruding tongue. An image of this deity has so far been discovered in a village named Tiruna in the Prachi valley.

Mārīcī is the Vajrayānic goddess of dawn. In Orissa the goddess is not rare at all. From Khadipada in the Balasore district the image of a

Mārīcī has been shifted to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Another image of Mārīcī is being worshipped as Jayadurgā in the village of Ayodhya of the same district. An image of Mārīcī which is learnt to have been brought from Khiching is seen preserved in the small museum at Baripada. At Astaranga in the Prachi valley we come across this goddess under a *pipal* tree. At some other places in the Prachi valley also images of Mārīcī are seen. From Udalā region of the Mayurbhanj district two Mārīcī images have been acquired for the Baripada Museum. At Tarapur in the district of Cuttack an image of Mārīcī along with other images has been recovered. The bronze hoard from Achutrajpur contains an image of Aśokakāntā Mārichī.

Aparājitā is a ferocious deity whose right hand exhibits the act of dealing a slap. Her face is awful and terrible. She is represented as trampling upon the Hindu god Ganeśa. In the newly built museum at Lalitgiri an image of this deity is preserved. Another image of this deity, which has been recently found out at Udayagiri is broken and the upper portion is lost.

Kurukullā is also a tantric deity. The treasurers of Udayagiri include a figure of Kurukullā. The image of a Tarodbhava Kurukullā is found fixed to the inner wall of the Chandanamaṇḍapa at Kakatapur on the bank of the river Prachi. The image is worshipped as Nārāyanī by the local people. In the bronze collections of Achutrajpur one comes across an Uḍḍiyāna Kurukullā.

The goddess Bhṛkuṭi is peaceful in appearance and blooms in youth. The bronze hoard from Achutrajpur contains two images of Bhṛkuṭi. At some places she is also found at the side of Khasarpaṇa Avalokiteśvara as a companion deity.

Vajravārāhī is the consort of Heruka and her union with Heruka constitutes the popular Buddhist Tantras, namely, the Cakrasambhara Tantra and the Vajravārāhī Tantra. The Late R.P. Chanda saw an image of this goddess in a modern temple at Chaudwar, which is now missing.

Vartāḷi is one of the four attendant goddesses of Mārīcī. An image of this deity has been unearthed from the debris of Ayodhya in the Balasore district.

Vasudhārā is the consort of Jambhala, the Buddhist god of wealth. The treasures of Ratnagiri contain three images of Vasudhārā. The recent excavation at Lalitgiri has yielded an image of Vasudhārā.

Hāritī is a popular Buddhist goddess. She is recognised by her association with children. The treasures of Ratnagiri include one Hāritī image.

An icon of the goddess Chuṇḍā is seen worshipped in the name of Vāsuli Thākurani in Bania Sahi of the Cuttack town. As many as five bronze images of Chuṇḍā have been unearthed from the promising Buddhist site of Achutrajpur.

In course of time Buddhism declined in Orissa and with its decline people lost all interest in it and, thus, the monasteries and other Buddhist establishments were abandoned, allowing them to be covered by dense vegetation. Thus the Buddhist plastic art gradually died away. Later on Buddhism was supplanted by Śaivism and at some Buddhist sites Śaivite temples raised their heads. At some other places Buddhist deities were converted into Hindu deities and such instances are many.

The impact of Tantrayāna on the Oriya literature and Oriya society is manifold. The literature of Tantrayāna i.e., the Charyāgītis and Dohāgītis, etc. has influenced the Oriya poets from the fifteenth century A.D. till the modern time. The social customs depicted in that literature are still alive in the present day Oriya society. Tantra and Tantric culture, it is believed, will continue to cast their shadows on human life and behaviour of Orissa for ages to come.

Thus Orissa had played an important role in the emergence and development of Tantrayāna, the last phase of Buddhism consisting of Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna and Kālachakrayāna, which influenced the Oriya literature and society to a marked extent and thereby formed part of the Orissan culture.

Notes and References

1. N. Dutt, Foreword in *Buddhism in Orissa* (by N.K. Sahu), Cuttack, 1958, p. III.
2. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, London, 1905, p. 199n.
3. *Mahāvagga of Vinayapiṭaka*, I, Ed. by M. Oldenburg, pp. 3f.
4. *Anguttara Commentary*, I, pp. 48 ff.
5. *Op. cit.*, Ch. I, Verse - 10.
6. S. Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsang by the Shamana Kwui Li*, London, 1914, p. 159.
7. *Anguttara Nikāya*, II, P. 38.
8. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, Edinburg, 1954, p. 329.
9. N. Dutt, *op. cit*, p. VI.
10. N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, Cuttack, 1958, p. 68.
11. N. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. VI.
12. *History of Buddhism in India*, p. 58 and *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VIII, p. 252.
13. T. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

14. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World,* Vol. II, Delhi, 1973, p. 208.
15. *Ibid.,* p. 204.
16. P.C. Bagchi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, Calcutta, 1929, p. 70 and p. 176.
17. S.B. Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults, Calcutta,* 1976, p. 16.
18. *Enclyopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* Vol. XII, p. 193a.
19. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (N.S.), Vol. XXVI, 1930, p. 129.
20. *Mahanirvāṇa Tantra,* Ch. VII, *Slokas* 103-11 & *Guptasādhanā Tantra, Patala.* VII.
21. B. Bhattacharyya, *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism,* Delhi, 1980, p. 52; *Sādhanamālā,* Vol. II, Baroda, 1928, Introduction, p. XXI; *Cultural Heritage of Indian,* Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1956, p. 220.
22. S.B. Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, Calcutta, 1974, p. 53: *Obscure Religious* Cults, p. 17; N.K. Sahu, *op. cit.,* p. 131.
23. *Advayavajra-Samgraha,* Edited by H.P. Shastri, (G.O.S. No. 40) Baroda, 1927, p. 37.
24. *Ibid.,* p. 19.
25. B. Bhattacharyya, *Sādhanamālā,* II, Introduction, p. XXIV.
26. B. Bhattacharyya, *Guhyasamāja Tantra,* Baroda, 1931, p. 154.
27. B. Bhattacharyya, *Sādhanamāla,* Vol. II, Introduction, p. XXVI and *Indian Buddhist Iconography,* Introduction, Calcutta, 1958, p. II.
28. Published as a part of *Two Vajrayāna Works,* G.O.S. No. 44.
29. Verses 27 and 92 of Ch. I, Verse 28 of Ch. II and Verse 8 of Ch. V.
30. *Cultural Heritage of India,* Vol. IV, pp. 268f.
31. N.K. Sahu, *op. cit.,* p. 137.
32. *Obscure Religious Cults,* p. 52; *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism,* p. 69.
33. *Charyāgiti,* No. 15.
34. B. Bhattacharyya, *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism,* p. 77.
35. *Modern Buddhism and its Followers in Orissa* (by N.N. Vasu), Introduction, p. 8.
36. *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism,* p. 66; see also *Obscure Religious Cults.* p. 25.
37. B. Bhattacharyya, *Cultural Heritage of India,* Vol. IV, p. 271.
38. P.C. Bagchi, *op. cit.,* p. 221.
39. Description of the *Laghu-Kālacakra-tantra-rāja-tīkā* given by Mm. H.P. Shastri in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Govt. collection* (Asiatic Society of Bengal), I, pp. 73f.
40. *Sekoddeśa-tīkā,* Ed. by Mario E. Carelli (G.O.S. No. 90).
41. *Ibid.,* p. 8.
42. PP. 115, LXXI and X; B.N. Dutta, *Mystic Tales of Lāmā Tārānātha,* Calcutta, 1944, p. 49.
43. D. Mitra, *Bronzes from Achutrajpur; Orissa,* Delhi, 1978 p. 18, fn. 5.
44. *Ibid.,* p. 19.

45. *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 453 & 455.
46. B. Bhattacharyya, *Sādhanamālā*, Vol. II, Introduction, p. XXXVII.
47. *Ibid.*, p. XXXVII.
48. *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Introduction, p. 16.
49. *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1933, p. 393.
50. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V. (No. 1 & 2), 1937, pp. 14ff.
51. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XI, pp. 142ff.
52. *Budhism and Lāmāism of Tibet*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 380.
53. *Journal Asiatique* (1915), pp. 105ff.
54. *Studies in the Tantras*, Calcutta, 1975, pp. 37ff.
55. N.K. Sahu, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-43.
56. B. Bhattacharyya, *Sādhanamālā*, Vol. II, Introduction, p. XXXIX, and *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, p. 46.
57. K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, Cuttack, 1981, pp. 308ff.

Buddhist Art in India

S.K. Chatterjee*

History is nothing but biographies and history books are being written depending absolutely on the art pieces of the people of the past. The ancient rock-cut sculptures, relief or three dimensional rock-paintings, small or big sculptures, models, decorations of so many varieties, scripts of different designs are important sources for historians, archaeologists to write their articles, books, etc.

India's effective climate has ensured that we have very limited remains of its early art forms. There are huge gaps in Indian art history though we know that the Indian people made art in diverse media from the early 3rd millennium B.C. onwards. The first great Indian culture began to flourish at that time in the Indus valley.

After the scattered culture of Indus valley, about 1800 B.C., virtua.ly no art is known until 3rd century B.C. Stone-sculpture appeared at that time under the patronage of the great emperor Ashoka of the Maurya dynasty (272-322 B.C). Turning to Buddhism he set up a series of monolithic pillars which were associated with Buddha's career. Most of them were inscribed with Ashoka's command having capitals representing imperial animals - lion, bull, horse, elephant - but no base or footing. It seems that the Mauryan sculptures were developed in carving colossal figures, a style of sculpture that continued into the following period.

The Buddha, neither god nor prophet, but a human teacher, died about 489 B.C. After his death his bodily relics were dispersed, installed inside domes called stupas. These stupas were beautifully decorated with stone-railings, gateways and narrative panels. The earliest style of the sculptures was low relief with sharply cut figures. We can find the remains at Bharhut (2nd century B.C.) during the short period of Shunga dynasty. But the most complete and famous stupa is at Sanchi made by the Shatbahana dynasty, rulers of Central and Southern India from 220 B.C. to 236 A.D. The four gateways of Sanchi Stupa bear massive relief sculptures with more complex subject matter than at Bharhut. The relief at Bharhut is like a translation into stone of an outline drawing - but at Sanchi, it is far developed with full, rounded volume bearing typical Indian feeling. The Shatbahana dynasty, prominent in South India

* Archeaological Suvery of India, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.

also built a series of stupas around Amaravati from about 20 B.C. to 300 A.D. The sculptures, there, are vividly sensuous in white limestone consisting of excellently carved figures in various movements.

In the western Deccan numbers of cave monasteries were cut in living rock with the development of Buddhism from the 2nd century B.C. At Karle the halls were decorated with images of beauty and physical well-being and wall paintings. The most famous of the rock-cut monasteries are at Ajanta which is earlier than Karle (1st century B.C). Unfortunately the memorable paintings on the walls of Ajanta have greatly deteriorated. These paintings depict incidents from the Jatakas (describing the Buddha's previous incarnations) which are closely related to Shatbahana art in style.

The first image of Buddha himself was carved either in the great city and religious centre of Mathura (about the end of the first century A.D.) ruled by the Kushana dynasty, or at Gandhara. Previously it was not proper to represent the Buddha in human form, but needing more personal focus to increase the popularity of Buddhism, sculptures of Buddha in human form were made. The quality of being human on the part of the Enlightened one was acknowledged, though icons suggested his attainment of Nirvana by their transcendent peacefulness.

Buddhism became divided between the stricter forms, Hinayana (so-called "Lesser vehicle") denying the divinity of Buddha by insisting on personal 'Nirvana' and Mahayana (the "Greater vehicle") which admitted the divine status of Buddha for assisting the whole mankind to "Nirvana."

However, the heartland of Buddhism in India was the middle Gangetic plain where the Buddha lived and taught. Very important sites like Saranath, where the Buddha preached his first sermon; Bodhgaya, where he attained enlightenment - attract pilgrims from all over the world. Supernatural forms of 'Bodhisattvas' as well as sober forms with transparent veil, the smoothness of the stones and superb craftsmanship are the characteristics of the Gupta period art pieces dating from about 320 A.D.

Although modified, orthodox Buddhism, Vajrayana, which continued to be practised under the Pala dynasty in North-West i.e., Bihar and Bengal was consolidated about 760 A.D. Orthodox Buddhism embraced elements of mystical Hinduism asserting life to be without value. The method of the west was based on Tantras. And the Tantrikas cultivated the systems with medicine, psychology, ceremonies and magic. Naturally the sweet, erotic style of Gupta art was adopted with painted and sculpted figures,

both masculine and feminine. The bright colours like blue, green, red of the skin and production of abnormal forms of arms, legs are the significant marks of the art pieces of the period. One great site of Pala dynasty is Paharpur in Bengal (now in Bangladesh) where the ruins of Buddhist shrines built in the eighth century, still remain with more than 2000 terracotta sculptures and panels of doll-like figures of both Buddhists and Hindus. Detailed stucco icons can be found at Nalanda, a large monastic complex and university in Bihar carrying influences of Gupta sculptures, the style of which is closely related to the Pala sculptures.

It will be unfair to forget the Buddhist art pieces of Orissa. The monumental quality of the rock-cut elephant at Dhauli of Ashokan period, the colossal Buddha heads and full figures of Ratnagiri, Udaigiri and Lalitgiri are noteworthy. Ratnagiri has been accepted to be about 5th century A.D. and onwards, but the ages of Udaigiri and Lalitgiri are yet in controversy as the excavations at both the places are in continuation.

The invasion of the Muslims in 1196 destroyed the Pala Kingdom and virtually erased all traces of Buddhism from India.

N.B.: Collections : (1) *The Random House Library of Painting and Sculpture,* Vol. III, Edited by David Piper, Oxford.

(2) *'The History of Asian Art'* Edited by Bernard S. Myers, New York and Trewin Copplestone, London.

Notes on Buddhist Text on Debate

Heramba Chatterjee Sastri

In the initial stage of Buddhism, Lord Buddha had hardly any occasion for encouraging what we call the science of logic or debate. His was a moral mission of opening the gates of immortality to the suffering humanity, pointing out specially the evanescent nature of the universe and the suffering into which people are plunged since their very birth by being entangled in one form or other from which release is almost an impossibility. Mādhavācārya in his *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha* (B.O.R.I., edn. Poona, 1978) summarises the main tenets of Buddha in the following lines :

> Sarvaṃ kṣanikaṃ, duhkhaṃ duhkham svalakṣaṇaṃ svalakṣaṇaṃ śūnyaṃ śūnyaṃ iti bhāvanācatuṣṭayam upadiṣṭaṃ draṣṭavyaṃ. (p. 19).

This was accepted as the cream *(navanīta)* of Buddhist doctrine by all the four major schools of Buddhism, notwithstanding the fact that in respect of other philosophical points they held different view points. In the words of Madhava :

> *Te ca bauddhāś caturvidhayā bhāvanayā paramapuruṣārthaṃ kathayanti. Te ca mādhyamika-yogācāra-sautrāntika-vaibhāṣika-saṃjñābhih prasiddhā bauddhā yathakramaṃ sarvaśūnyatva-bāhyārthaśūnyatva-bāhyārtha-numeyatva-bāhyārthapratyakṣatva-vādān atiṣthante. (p. 19).*

Buddha delivered his teachings in the Pali language (sā māgadhī mulabhāsā) and they are enshrined in the three baskets (tipiṭaka) comprising of *Suttapiṭaka* (Sermon basket); *Vinayapiṭaka* (Discipline basket) and the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* (Metaphysical basket), each of which embodying a large number of distinct works, but it is surprising that in the whole of Pali literature not a single treatise of logic has been composed.[1]

In the Tipiṭaka, there are however occasional references to a class of people who were adept in the science of reasoning *(Takkī* or *Takkika* = Sans. Tārkika). In the *Brahmajāla-sutta,* the most important constituent of the *Dīgha Nikāya* we find mention of the Śramaṇas and the Brāhmaṇas

* Professor, Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

who were argumentationists (takki) and casuists (vīmaṃsī). The *Anumāna-sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* is supposed to use the term *anumāna* in the sense of inference. The *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa,* a text belonging to the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka* has in it reference to several technical terms of logic, such as : *anuyoga* (inquiry); *āharaṇa* (illustration); *paṭiññā* (proposition); *upanaya* (application of reason); *niggaha = Sans. nigraha* (defeat). This text by Moggaliputta Tissa however does not specifically make any reference to a text on debate. The non-canonical Pali text entitled *Milinda-pañha* has an explicit reference to *Nīti* (logic) as a science. Interestingly the celebrated monk Nāgasena in his dialogue with the king Milinda, has pointed out the modes adopted by the scholars and the kings to establish their points. It has been stated that 'when scholars talk a matter over with one another, then there is a winding up, an unravelling; one or the other is convicted of error, and he then acknowledges his mistake; distinctions are drawn, and contradistinctions, and yet thereby they are not angered.'

When, however, a king discusses a matter, and he advances a point, if any one differs from him on that point, he is apt to fine him, saying: 'inflict such and such a punishment upon the fellow.'

In course of time the Theravāda Buddhism, maybe, because of the patronage offered by Kaniska, took a new turn as a result of which the sphere of Buddhist thought became widened and heightened and because of this distinction its appellation appropriately became *Mahāyāna,* i.e., great vehicle of thought. Sanskrit came into picture and Buddhism profusely utilised Sanskrit conveniently to give expression to the new philosophical thoughts of elevated order. The *Lalitavistara,* which is one of the *Navadharmas,* was translated into Chinese in 221-263 A.D. Here we find specific mention of the science of logic mentioning it as *Hetuvidyā.*

The *Lankāvatārasūtra,* a sacred text of the Buddhists, in the Second Chapter speaks of the Naiyāyikas. Some of the lines are interesting :

Naiyāyikāḥ kathaṃ brūhi bhaviṣyanti anāgataḥ.
Kathaṃ hi śudhyate tarkaḥ, katham tarkaḥ pravartate ?
Dṛṣṭāntaḥ hetubhir yuktoḥ siddhānto deśanā katham ?

Again : Kṛtakasya vināśaḥ syāt tārkikānāṃ ayaṃ nayaḥ.

Buddhist philosophy gradually became developed so much so that at the time of Kaniska we get an idea of the eighteen sects, which in course of time were formulated into four major schools, namely, *Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, Mādhyamika* and *Yogācāra.* The adherents of

these Buddhist schools had no other alternative than formulating logical arguments in both defending their own line of thought as also in attacking the points of the opponents. Round about 250-320 A.D. the Buddhists were fortunate in having Nāgārjuna, one of the best philosophers India has ever produced, the great propounder of the *Mādhyamika* school, emphasising *Śūnyavāda,* which has been wrogly interpreted, badly understood and vehemently opposed by the Vedantic thinkers principally. This doctrine has been systematically delineated in his *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* in twenty-seven chapters. His other text, namely, *Vigraha-vyāvartanī-kārikā,* criticises the *Nyāya* theory of *Pramāṇa.* Of his other books reference may be made to his *Pramaṇa-vihetana* or *Pramāṇavidhvaṃsana,* which was in fact a review of the definition of the sixteen categories as given by Ākṣapāda. His other text is *Upāyakauśalyahṛdaya-śāstra* which is stated to be a work on the art of debate by Nāgārjuna. Seeing that the Vaiśeṣika and the other systems were obscure in their terminology, Nāgārjuna was reported to undertake the responsibility of composing a text to present a clear exposition of the art of debate.

In this background reference here is to be made to a text entitled - *Upāyahṛdayam* attributed to Nāgārjuna, which however has been disputed. Prof. Tucci in his : *Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources,* Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1929, at pp. 1-32, has reconstructed the text from the Chinese tranlations, the Sanskrit original being lost. It was translated into Chinese twice - the first translation was made by Buddhabhadra of the Eastern Tsin, which is lost. The second one is still extant and was translated by Ka Kia Ye at the time of the Northern Wei.

This text has been critically edited, translated into Japanese, commented upon and compared with the *Carakasaṃhitā* by Prof. Ui in his : *Studies in Indian Philosophy,* in Japanese, (Vol. II, p. 427ff).

The text is distributed over four sections *(prakaranas)* and has the following opening verse :

Etadvādhāvabodhena vādadharmāvabodhanam/
Vistareṇa ca gambhīro 'yam artho 'trābhidhīyate//

Very interestingly the first paragraph of the text initiates a discussion to the effect that debates and discussions in adverse manner are to be dropped in principle since the persons indulging in debates have a tendency of being swayed by self-sense, pride and anger, which may have an adverse effect on disturbing the mental equilibrium; and may be motivated both by the attempt of the defects of other persons and

the hankering after self-aggrandisement. Both these are not commendable mental attitudes:

Vādo na kartavyaḥ; kasmāt ? prāyeṇa hi vādakārakānām sanjata-vipulakrodha-mada-mattānāṃ svayaṃ vibhrānta-cittānāṃ manaso' natimṛdutā parāpapa-prakāśakatvañ cetyādayo doṣā budhair nirbhatsitāḥ. Tasmād āryajanā asaṃkhyeyo-payair vivādacchedakās tatparihāraprītāś ca viṣabhājana-parityagād iva. Vastuto mṛdv api param bahir bahudoṣaṃ dṛsyate.

Tasmāt svahita-parahitābhilāṣiṇaite vivādadharmāḥ praheyāḥ. p. 1; Lines; 4-10.

To this supposed charge against the tendency of *vāda*, the reply is given by the author of the text that it is simply improper to attribute the evil design behind the tendency to debate, but it has a bright aspect also in the sense that it induces the writer to set the ball in the right place by pointing out the right characteristics of the objects :

Atrocyate - maivam; naisa vādaprārambhaḥ paribhava-lābhakhyātyartho' pitu sulakṣaṇa-durlakṣaṇopadeśecchayaiva vādasya prārambhaḥ. p. 1. L. 12-14.

In a humorous tone, it has been further held that in the absence of any debating opponent the world will turn out to be an abode of fools:

Yadīha loke vādo na bhavet, mugdhānāṃ bāhulyaṃ syāt. Tataś ca laukika-mithyājñāna-kuśalatā-sahacarā-bhrāntisamudbhūta-kukarmabhiḥ saṃsāra-durgatiḥ sadarthahāniś ca.

The example of a person arranging a thorny fence for the protection of a sweet mango tree has been presented in a nice language, speaking in favour of vāda :

Vādāvagame tu svayaṃ sulakṣaṇa-durlakṣaṇa-śūnyalakṣaṇa-parijñānatvāt sarve mārā tīrthikā mithyādṛstimanusyaś ca viheṭhanāsamarthā apratibandhakārāś ca. Tasmat svattvahitecchayeha loke saddharmasya pracārechayā ca samygvāda ārabhyate :

Yathāmraphala-paripustikāmena tatphala-parirakṣaṇārthaṃ bahir bahutīkṣna-kantaka-nikara-vinyāsah kriyate.

The author proceeds to state :

Vādārambho'pi tathaivadhunā saddharmarakṣanecchayā, na tu khyātilābhāya.

Yaduktam bhavatā pūrvam eṣa vādo vivādapravardhaka iti; tad ayuktaṃ; dharmarakṣaṇārtham eva hi vāda ārabdhavyaḥ... p. 8.

Āha, yad uktam bhavatā yady etam vādam jānīyād vāda-dharmān avagacched iti vaktavyam etasya lakṣaṇam.

Atrocyate. Tasya vādasyāṣṭavidho bhedaḥ. Tadarthagati-prajñanasāmarthye paravādāvagamaḥ, yaṭha dhānyam uptvā siktvā codakena tasya puṣṭiḥ samṛddhiś ca sādhyate.. Tṛnādyanutsārane tūtkṛṣṭānkura na jāyante. Yadi kaś cid etam aṣṭavidhaṃ vadaṃ śṛnuyād artham tu tasya nāvagacched tadā tasya sarveṣu vādesu saṃsayo bhavet. Yadi kaś cid etam aṣṭavidham artham parijānīyān niyatam eva sarvávāda-dharmāvagame samartho bhavet.

The author then enumerates the eightfold *vādadharmas* thus :

Ato vādanayapratipādanārtham prapañcoccheddanārthan caite 'ṣṭavidhā gambhīraḥ sadvādadharmāḥ samkṣepato mayā kathyante:

Dṛṣṭāntaḥ siddhānto vākyapraśaṃsā vākyadoṣaḥ pramaṇaṃ kālavākyaṃ hetvābhaso vākchalaṃ.

The text presents some new points regarding the Buddhist concept of pramāṇa :

Adhunā bhavatvetāni catvāri lakṣanāni vyākhyātavyāni :

Atrocyate;

Artha-sthāpanam icchatā caturvidhaṃ jñānam āsrayitavyam. Kiṃ tac caturvidham iti :

Pratyakṣam anumānam upamānam āgamaś ca.[2] p. 6;
Lines. 10-11.

In this way in the four sections *(prakaraṇas)*, interestingly several questions relating to Vāda have been raised and discussed and the conclusion is:

Evam ukto vādadharmānām sāraḥ. Eṣa vādasaraḥ sarvavādānaṃ mūlam. Etasmāt vādāt pakṣa-pratipakṣayoḥ paramotkarṣajñānām jāyate-yatha bīje upte mūlāṃkuraḥ samṛddhaḥ, kukṣetre tūpte phalābhāva eva. Etasya dharmasyāpi tathātvam.

Yadi vidvān kaś cit pramānạvicāra-kuśalas tadā vādān utpādayati. Mūrkhas tu alpabuddhir etadvādābhyāsenāpi tadavagamāsamartha tattvatato vidvān nocyate. Tasmād ye sajjñānotpattiṃ śubhāśubha-vivekaṃ cecchanti tais tair eva saddharmavāda āsrayitavyah... p. 32, Lines. 1-5.

References

1. See specially the article on Logic by Mrs. Rhys Davids in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.*

2. It should be noted here that the Buddhists recognise principally two modes of proof, namely, perception and inference. Accordingly, we have in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* of Diṅnāga, the statment :

   Pramāṇam anumānaṃ ca pramāṇam hi dvilakṣaṇam/
   Prameyaṃ tatprayogārthaṃ na pramāṇāntaraṃ bhavet// Verse, 2.

   (Text, edited by H.R.R. Ayengar, Mysore, 1930. Mysore University Publication) See also *Nyāyapraveśaka-sutra*, p. 7 :
   Ātmapratyāyanārtham tu pratyakṣam anūmanam ca dve eva pramāṇe.
   (Ed. A.B. Dhruva, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1930).
   Dharmakirti in his *Nyāyavindu* (1.2-3) after enumerating the two types of *pramāṇa*, namely, *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*, in his *Pramāṇa-vārtika* appears to accept testimony as a *pramāṇa* also as we gather from the verse :

   Tadvat pramāṇaṃ bhagavan abhūtavinivṛttaye/
   Bhūtoktiḥ, sādhanāpekṣā tato yuktā pramāṇatā// Pramāṇavārtika, 1.9.

Evolution of Buddhism : Its Socio-Religious Background

Madhusudan Mishra*

It is generally perceived that Buddhism evolved in India as a radical reaction and revolution against Brahmanism in its acute ritualistic form. This perception is, however, partially true because, as a system of philosophy and also as a form of religion in its broadest sense, it has got certain proximity of ideas and thoughts with other branches of philosophy and religion, including Hinduism - the developed form of Brahmanism. Despite the fact that Buddhism holds some views which directly counter the Brahmanical view points with regard to certain fundamental philosophical as well as religious issues, it has indeed certain proximity of ideas with the latter. This is because of the fact that founders of every system, like other people, are in no small measure, the products of their time a ıd tradition. And, at the same time, either deliberately or otherwise they incorporate the thought-currents, concepts and ideas - both anterior as well as contemporary. In short, since there can't be a sudden leap from chaos to cosmos, any system which has got the sanction or acceptance of the people at large, has to have a long course of development. It is also true in case of Buddhism. Hermann Oldenberg is right to remark : "Hundreds of years before Buddha's time movements were in progress in Indian thought, which prepared the way for Buddhism and cannot, therefore, be separated from a sketch of the latter."[1]

Various attempts have so far been made by several scholars to find out the genesis of Buddhism in different systems. Jacobi traces out its origin in a corresponding theory of the front-runners of Jainism.[2] Albert Weber is inclined to identify Buddha with Kapila, the founder of Samkhya philosophical system. He holds this opinion on the authority of the fact that Buddha's birth place is called Kapilavastu 'the abode of Kapila.'[3] Asvaghosa's account of Buddha meeting the Samkhya teacher Arada Kalama also stands testimony to this (*Buddha carita,* 12.10 ff.) P.V. Bapat refers to the Vedic and Upanisadic influence on Buddhism.[4] G.C. Pande supports Bapat's view.[5] Thus we see that the views of the scholars in this regard vary most widely, and there is no consensus whatsoever.

* P.G. Deptt. of Sanskrit, G.M. College, Sambalpur, Orissa.

It seems from their opionions that most of the scholars are guided by the proximity of ideas and concepts between these two streams of thoughts, and many of them assume that all that existed before the emergence of Buddhism must necessarily have a Vedic genesis. Both the considerations are erroneous. Firstly, similarities of ideas can't necessarily lead us to believe about a direct borrowing, because in many cases, we can have a common stock from which many systems grow or borrow. Secondly, the discovery of the Pre-Vedic Indus Valley civilization and investigations thereon have invalidated the general assumption of a Vedic foundation of everything that is Pre-Buddhistic.

In fact, religious cultures and philosophical currents are not alien to the existing social phenomena; they originate, develop and disperse in the society. Thus they can never remain in a close circuit guarded by impenetrable fundamental features. Every system is the result of a long course of development couched with numerous debates and deliberations on different issues and views; a product of the meeting and mingling of various previous and contemporary ideas, thought currents, etc. Keeping these basic realities before us we would examine the question : Whether Buddhism has developed from a Vedic source ? In this connection, I shall focus my attention specially on the ground realities that led to the evolution of Buddhism in India.

1. **Origin of Buddhist mendicancy**

There is no denying the fact that Buddhism gives first and foremost importance to mendicancy or monkhood, as it is the initial step towards renunciation. So far as the Vedic culture is concerned, we do not get any favourable reference to the monks in it. The first reference to a ***muni*** is given in *R.V.* X. 136, where he is described as a long-haired, dirty, tawny clad figure walking in the air, behaving like one mentally retarded and inspired. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (6. 33.3) ***muni*** Aitaśa has been pictured as a deranged personality by his own son. In the *Taittirīya Āranyaka muni*-s have been illustrated as *Vātarāśanāḥ,* meaning wind-girt, making it evident that they were nude. This prompted Macdonell and Keith to opine that probably mendicancy was not approved by the priestly class during the Vedic period, because the latter was ritualistic in its approach and sticking to the view and values which were essentially different from the former.

Even though in the *Śatapatha Brāhmana*[6] Turu Kāvaṣeya is regarded with high esteem as a muni, his father Kavaṣa Ailuṣa was driven out from a sacrifice with the words : "O son of a female slave ! you

are a rogue and not a brahmin" *(Aitareya Brāhmaṇa - 8.1)*. Even in the Pāli Nikāya-s *Śamana-muṇḍaka*-s are frequently delineated in sharp opposition to Brahmins (cf. *Suttanipāta* - 21 : *tatreva muṇḍaka tatreva samaṇaka tatreva vasalaka tiṭṭhahīti)*. Thus we see that religious mendicancy did not get a favourable place in Vedic hierarchy. It was introduced to the Vedic culture at a later date with the influence of Pre-Vedic non-Aryan culture where mendicancy finds a high position. However, the picture changes in the Upanisadic period by the time of which there is a rapproachement between the Vedic and non-Vedic cultures.

Moreover, the brahmanical idea was that as soon as a man is born, he becomes indebted to three groups : the *Devas,* the *Ṛsi-s* and the *Pitṛ-s* meaning the deities, the seers and the ancestral beings respectively (cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa :* I.7. 2.1; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* 6.3.10.7). Even sages like Yajnavalkya were leading the life of householders. Their retirement into forests was taking place only after enjoying the material world to the fullest extent, fulfilling all the domestic as well as social obligations etc. It is especially the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad,* as its very name indicates, that for the first time gave higher rank to medicancy in the rungs of the Vedic society. Thus it is highly probable that the Vedic literature, especially the *Samhitā* and the *Brahmanical* literature, is not the source from which the Buddhist idea of mendicancy has originated. It is, at the same time, highly probable, even possible, that it evolved from the pre-Vedic Indus culture.

2. **Ascendancy of the Brahmins and stratification of the society**

A significant sociological reason which paved the way for the evolution of Buddhism must be highlighted here. Casteism did not find a place in early Vedism. But, in the course of time, class-division of the Vedic society imposed certain rigorous barriers like prohibition of inter-class marriage etc. on the people at large. Superior treatment to the Brahmins created discontent in the social hierarchy. The proletariat class was denied its due share in the social phenomena. All this, in the due course, gave rise to a caste-division, which became crystal clear by the Upanisadic period, and a voice of protest was raised against it. This was fructified by Buddha in the later years.

3. **Polytheism leading to monistic trend**

A significant trend marked in the early hymns of the Vedic literature is the worship of several deities, most of whom are the representatives

of natural phenomena. But in the later phases we notice a distinct change in that trend, and any discerning eye can use a clear cut deviation from the trend of Polytheism to that of monism (cf. *idaṁ mitraṁ varunam aganim āhur atho divyo sasuparno garutmam/ekaṁ sad viprā badhudhā vadanty agniṁ yamaṁ mātarisvānam āhuḥ//.*

4. Rituals replaced by knowledge

In the initial stage of Vedic civilization, ritual was very simple in character. But subsequently, it grew upto amazing heights with numerous divisions and sub-divisions, where engagement of a number of priests became almost an indispensable part of it, which made the Brahmins class-conscious beings.

From a deeper study of the Vedic hymns it is revealed that since the dawn of ritual practice in India, there persisted some dissatisfaction against it. In the *Aitareya Āranyaka* (III. 2.6.8) the Kavaṣeyas raise an objection : "Why should we repeat the Veda or offer this sacrifice ?" Seer Mahidasa is seen pondering significantly : "People say - 'Hymn, hymn' *(uktha, uktha)*, but do they know what hymn means ?" (Ibid. II. 12-1). With the deepening of philosophical consciousness, this tune of protest gained more and more ground and momentum and ultimately there emerged a shift in the sacrificial system. Slowly and gradually, *vidyā* or knowledge came to be recognised as superior to sacrifice. As the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* (II. 1111) remains : *na haivaṁ taṁ lokaṁ dakṣinābhir na tapasā, nevaṁ vidaśnuta evaṁ vidaṁ haiva sa lokah; (svādhyāyāt) prajñā vardhamāna caturo dharmān brāhmaṇam abhiniṣpādayati (Śat. Br. II. 1986).*

5. The Upaniṣadic Shift

By the time the *Upaniṣad*-s were composed, the enmity existing between the Aryans and the non-Aryans had narrowed down. There was marked in their attitude towards each other a growing tendency of accommodation of other's ideas in one's own which is reflected in the *Upaniṣadic* literature. A distinct change in Vedic thought, from ritual practices to knowledge meditation, i.e., from *Karmakāṇḍa* to *Jñānakāṇḍa* was seen. The theory of *karma,* transmigration of soul and the trend of asceticism were introduced into the Vedic Pantheon. The *munis* and *śramana*-s got superiority over ritualists *(Bṛhad - Āranyakopanisad :* 3.5.1, 4.4.22). The *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* championed the causes of the shaven-headed ascetics. It also subdued the importance of Vedic rituals most strikingly (I. 2.7-12).

6. **Ascendancy of the warrior class and the slackening of caste-rigidity**

With the undermining of ritualism, the superiority of the Brahmin class diminished and there appeared the ascendancy of the warrior class, the examples of which are seen in a number of *Upanisad*-s. As for instance, Aśvapati at Kasi (*Chāndagya Upaniṣad* : 5.11), Pravāhana Jaivāli of Pāñcāla (*Bṛhad-Āranyakopaniṣad* : 6.2; *Chāndogya*: 5.3) are found imparting philosophical knowledge to learned Brahmins. The *devayajña*-s and the *Pitṛyajña*-s are referred to as *kṣatriyavidyā* (*Bṛhad-Āranyakopaniṣad* : 6.2.8-16; *Chāndogya* : 5.3.7).

7. **Further relegation of gods into oblivion**

During the Upanisadic stage, gods were represented as the partial manifestations of the infinite being. Thus they lost their independent personal power and charm. In the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* (4.15.5) gods further became the executive functionaries for the operation of the law of *Karmā*, and the Supreme god was designated as the prime operator (*Karmādhyakṣah-Śvetaśvataropaniṣad* : 6.11). The foundation of ritualism started dwindling, partly due to their inner discontent and partly due to external impact of ascetic ideals. Vedic knowledge was considered as *aparā vidyā* (*Muṇḍaka Up* : 1.1.4-5) and ritualistic performances as *avidyā*. It was a fight of knowledge versus actual performance, renunciation versus enjoyment, and finally the former won. Thus there was a victory of *nivṛtti* over *pravṛtti* i.e., detachment over attachment.

8. **Results of these changes in the religious attitude**

   (a) A radical departure from the ritualistic tradition which finds its full embodiment in Buddhism is clearly marked as a direct result of the changes mentioned above.

   (b) *Śramana*-s and *Muṇḍaka*-s occupied equal position with the Brahmins in the social hierarchy.

   (c) Buddha, having taken stock of everything preferred to have a middle path (*majjhimā patipadā*) to discover truth by avoiding the extremes.

9. **Alleged influence of Upaniṣads on Buddhism**

We have already noted that during the Upanisadic period, the Aryan tradition branched off into three main tendencies of thought, one of which was the criticism of the ritualistic religion. It is this tendency of the *Upaniṣad*-s which influenced Buddhistic thought-currents to the greatest extent. The logical culmination of this is Buddhism.

The influence of the *Muṇḍaka* and the *Maṇḍukya-Upaniṣad*-s is of special significance. The Muṇḍaka is most vociferous in decrying the efficacy of the Vedic rituals, and it clearly states that those fools who consider them as the highest good *(śreya)* are sure to undergo decay and death again and again *(etatc chreyo ye' bhinandanti mūdhah jarāmṛtyum te punar evapi yānti : Muṇḍaka* - 1.2.7-10). They are compared with the blind led by the blind *(Ibid* - 1.2.8 : *andhenaiva nīyamānā yathāndhāḥ;* the same analogy has been given by Buddha : *seyyathāpi ... ... andhaveni paramparā saṁsattā, purimo pi na passati majjhimo pi na ... pacchimo pi na ... andhaveṇupamaṁ manne brāhmanānām bhāṣitam : Majjhima Nikāya* - II. 170). Its disapproval of the then existing caste system is implied from the significant predicate used for the *Brahmana,* viz. *agotram, avarṇam* etc. *(Muṇḍaka :* 1.1.6). The fundamental theory of Buddhism that man is born according to his desires in the places appropriate to him is also found echoed in the *Muṇḍakopanisad :* 2.2). Buddha's teaching to adopt the middle path finds a similarity in *Muṇḍaka* 3.2.3.4 where it says : The Atman is not attainable by spiritual discourse, nor by intellectual power, nor by much hearing also; nor can it be attained by one who is devoid of strength, thoughtfulness and meditation.

We find similarity of ideas not in these two cases only; but on many more cases identical expressions, examples and analogies are also met with. Let us illustrate a few of them as representatives of a host of others.

1. *Kathopanisad* 5.15;
   Śvetaśvatopaniṣad 6.14 : *na tatra surya bhāti na candratārakam*

   cf. *Udāna* - I.9 : *na tathā sukkā jotanti ādicco na pakkāsati; na tathā candimā bhāti tamotatthā na bijjanti //*

2. *Bṛhad-Āranyakopaniṣad* 2.4.5;
   Chāndogyopaniṣad - 6.1.3 : *darśanena śravaṇena matyā vijñānena/*

   cf. *Majjhima Nikāya* : I - *diṭṭham sutam mutam, viññātam//*

3. *Chāndogyopaniṣad* - 4.14.2 : *brahmavid iva saumya te mukham bhāti/*

   cf. *Suttanipāta* : *Vippasannāni kho te-indriyāni parisudhdho mukhavacaṇṇo/*

We have also numerous similarities between the analogies occuring in the Pali *Nikāya*-s and the *Upaniṣad*-s, e.g., *Chāndogyopaniṣad :* 4.14.3 - *yathā puṣkarapalāsa apo na ślisyante,* cf. *Dhammapada* - 401: *Vāri Pokhkhara patte va.* The analogy of the blind being led by the blind is also found in both Upaniṣadic and Buddhist texts.

Inspite of the use of these terminologies in similar contexts, it can never be ascertained that Buddhism was deeply influenced by the non-ritualistic *Upanisad*-s, as has been generally deduced by scholars. This much we can say that *Upanisad*-s led the foundation of some ideas in a vague manner which were taken to its logical culmination in Buddhism and was given a definite and systematic shape. That is why it will be misleading and incorrect to say that Buddhism is a direct product of Upanisadic thoughts in toto.

Conclusion

There is no denying the fact that even during Buddha's time many a contemporaneaus thought-current was in vogue viz. the one of the Jains, the Nikāya-s, etc. Buddha being influenced by those thought-currents is quite natural. Thus it will be judicious to say that the emergence of early Buddhist thought was the result of the criticism, acceptance and synthesis of different streams of thought. But the uniqueness of Buddha's approach is that he adopted a balanced attitude by following the middle path, which was both rational and practical.

In conclusion we can say that Buddhism originated from the confluence of Vedic and non-Vedic culture, which was embodied in the non-ritualistic trend of the *Upaniṣad*-s. It was a new stream of thought, both casteless and classless in character. Again it can't also be argued that it was a revolt against Brahmanism with a sole view to reforming it. Its real aim was one of discovery and not revolt or reform. It was a departure from the orthodoxy of tradition, though not in its totality. Thus Buddhism is the result of a departure from the then prevailing religious, social, cultural and linguistic trends.

Notes and References

1. Oldenberg, H, *Buddha*, Tr. William Hoey, Calcutta, 1927, p. 6.
2. Referred to by T.W. Rhys Davis, *Origin and Growth of Religion*, London, 1881, p. 27.
3. Winternitz, M, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Tr. S. Ketkar, Calcutta, 1933, p. 234.
4. *2500 years of Buddhism*, New Delhi, 1956, p. 11.

5. *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, Allahabad, 1957, p. 556.
6. *Satapatha Brahmana*, 2 Vols. Vanshidhar Pandit, Merath, 1938.

Additional Bibliography

1. Ghurye, G.C. : 1932, *Caste and Race in India* London
2. Hiriyanna, M. : 1958, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, 4th Impression, London
3. Upadhyaya, K.N. : 1971, *Early Buddhism and the Bhagavadgita*, Delhi.

Buddhist Remains at Lalitgiri, Udayagiri, Ratnagiri in Orissa

G.C. Chauley*

Utkal, Kalinga, Odra, Kangoda are some of the ancient names of Orissa state. Though its boundary always varied from time to time, Orissa has been occupying an important position in the cultural history of India right from the time of Buddha till today. It is well known to all the scholars and students of history of India how the Mauryan King, Asoka turned into an important patron of Buddhism after his Kalinga expedition and earned the fame of "Dharmasoka" through the ages.

The earliest reference of Odra is found in Buddhist Literature *Lalitavistara* in connection with carrying of Buddha's relic (popularly known as "Kesa-asthi") by two Orissan Traders, Tapasu and Bhallika during the lifetime of Buddha.[1] In subsequent period also we get references to two more relics in Orissa viz. Nail and Tooth.[2] As a matter of fact Orissa's contribution towards preservation of Indian culture, its art and architecture is enormous. Asoka's remarkable turn from war to peace and promotion of Buddhism, Buddhist Art and Culture beyond the borders of India is unforgettable. Had not Asoka fought the Kalinga war, then such changes could not have been possible and Buddhism could never be elevated to a principal religion of the world.

Within a radius of 200 kms., Orissa has the distinction of having two major Rock-Edicts of Asoka viz. Dhauli, i.e., Tosali and Jaugada, i.e., Samapa. On the top of the Dhauli inscription we come across the monolithic rock-cut elephant of the Mauryan age, the earliest sculpture in Orissa.

Throughout the ages, Buddhism also has its rise and downfall in Orissa as experienced by its neighbouring states like Bihar, Bengal and Andhra. We are getting innumerable sculptures of Buddha and Buddhist divinities from different parts of Orissa which speak of the popularity of Buddhism as a cult continuing upto its final extinction in the 12th/13th century A.D. Though many Buddhist sites are reported from different parts of Orissa, most important and popular among them are Ratnagiri, Lalitgiri and Udayagiri situated within a distance of 10 kms. from one another

* Superintending Archaeologist, Archaelogical Survey of India, Bhubaneswar Circle.

in the districts of Cuttack and Jajpur. Ratnagiri was excavated by Dr. Debala Mitra who brought to light the huge remains of Buddhist establishment on the hill-top consisting of two monastic complexes, stupas of various sizes, chaityas, temples, a large number of sculptures, seals, sealings, etc. The date of Ratnagiri goes back to 5th/6th century A.D.[3] But Lalitgiri and Udayagiri inspite of having the full potentialities remained neglected until recently; of course collection of scattered sculptures from the vicinity and putting them together in sculpture shed at Lalitgiri was done in the sixties. No constructive archaeological work has been done in the past except trial digging conducted by Dr. K.S. Behera at Lalitgiri under Utkal University in 1977. Lalitgiri has yielded not only post-Gupta sculpural art in the form of life-size images of Buddha, Bodhisattva, Tara etc., but also given the Archer type gold coin of Chandragupta II,[4] Puri-Kushana coins, and Andhra ceramics contemporary to the Andhra-Satavahana period.

From an inscription of the Ikshvaku King, Sri Vira Purushadutta of 3rd century A.D. found in Nagarjunakonda, we get reference to a Mahavihara by name 'Pushpagiri.'[5] The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang had also mentioned in his itinerary while he had visited Odra, about the existence of Pushpagiri Mahavihara termed by him as Peu-So-Po-Ki-Li.

Scholars are not unanimous about the identification of Pushpagiri Mahavihara in Orissa. Some believed Ratnagiri, Lalitgiri and Udyagiri might be one amongst the Monasteries as mentioned by Hieun-Tsang. Other scholars believe that Pushpagiri is somewhere near Sitabhinji in Keonjhar Distirct, especially supported by Prof. N.K. Sahu.[6] But discoveries at Ratnagiri and Udayagiri sealings rule out the posibility of terming neither Ratnagiri nor Udayagiri as Pushpagiri as the former had the same name i.e., Ratnagiri Mahavihara and later Madhavapur Mahavihara.

The year 1985 has ushered a new epoch in archaeological research work with the formation of a separate Circle for Orissa (Bhubaneswar Circle) and a separate Excavation Branch of Archaeological Survey of India at Bhubaneswar. In 1985, Bhubaneswar Circle took up the Excavation work at Lalitgiri (20^0.35N and 86^0.15E) with the aim in view to expose the hidden archaeological wealth underneath the soil and identification of Pushpagiri Mahavihara referred to by the Chinese pilgrim. A hemispherical mound existing on the top of the hillock at Lalitgiri was selected for excavation work. The whole stupa mound was surveyed and divided into a few quadrants (6m. x 6m.) covering the whole mound and its peripheral area.

Initially the excavation was not encouraging though the remains of the Drum and Pradakshinapatha of a Stupa was unearthed measuring about 36 metres in circumference. The aims and objectives of the excavations were to unveil some unknown informations on Lalitgiri as narrated by Hiuen-Tsang, that he (Hieun-Tsang) had visualised the supernatural lights radiating from the Chhattravali of one of the stupas at Pushpagiri in Odra, hinting at the existence of a *mahastupa*. Being a devout Buddhist, Hiuen-Tsang might have had known the fact that a corporeal relic of Buddha was preserved in one of the stupas at Odra and devotion towards Tathagata was the out-come of visualising the said supernatural rays.

It would not be out of place to mention that during Ashoka's time original relics of Buddha were re-distributed for construction of a large number of stupas in different parts of his Maurya Dominion.[7] It is strongly believed that Buddhists of Odra-Kalinga might have had a share of that sacred corporeal relic for its preservation in a monastery or for the construction of a stupa at Odra. Unfortunately no archaeological spade-work has brought to light any such remains from none of the notable sites of Orissa viz. Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, Kuruma, etc. Excavation at Lalitgiri has given a positive reply to that long awaited episode of existence of the relic of Lord Buddha in Orissa. The Excavation team of Bhubaneswar Circle has become successful to discover from the core of the Stupa as many as three caskets made out of khandalite stone designed in the form of a votive stupa. After close examination it was confirmed that these are not ordinary votive stupas, but caskets containing the sacred relics of Buddha and two of his favourite disciples, viz. Sariputta and Mahamogallana.

This discovery has provided an important and unique technique, the Buddhists of Lalitgiri had followed in preservation of relics, which was hitherto unknown in India. Discoveries of relics of Lord Buddha are reported from important Buddhist sites like Sarnath, Sanchi, Vaishali, Piprahwa, Nagarjunkonda, Amaravati and preserved within a traditional steatite or crystal casket. The technique of preservation as adopted by the Orissan Buddhists is unique and unparallelled of its kind. But in Lalitgiri we are getting as many as 4 sets of caskets forming one unit which looks like a Chinese Puzzle Box, kept one inside another. The outer one is made out of *Khandalite,* designed in the form of votive stupa, made out of two pieces of stones. On the lower part in the centre, a groove is made to accommodate a traditional *steatite casket.* Inside the steatite casket a 3rd container i.e., a *silver casket* is preserved. When the silver casket is opened there exists the 4th container, i.e., a

gold casket and inside the gold casket the sacred relic is kept. It is to be investigated further whether at any point of time the Buddhists of Lalitgiri had contacts with China and the former had adopted this unique technique in preserving the corporeal relics from the latter.

Unfortunately none of these caskets bears any inscription, but so far as their number is concerned, it is very much similar to those of the caskets discovered at Sanchi. In Sanchi, we come across three independent caskets alongwith the inscription "Buddhasa, Sariputasa and Mudagalayanasa." From Lalitgiri too three separate caskets of Khandalite are discovered indicating relics of three important personalities but one of them is devoid of three inner containers which are possibly robbed.

Of those two intact sets of relic-containing caskets except variation in shapes and sizes, it is just a ditto of the other one i.e., khandalite, steatite, silver and gold. A remarkable evidence is noted that one sacred relic is in the form of a small fragment of bone, found wrapped in a gold foil. The other one is kept as it is. This further gives us an idea that encasing by a gold foil, definitely gives much importance and reverence to the relic and most probably might be the relic of Lord Buddha. Thus the three reliquary could have been counter-parts of Sanchi-caskets revealing the fact that Buddhists of Lalitgiri had the share of the relics not only of Lord Buddha but also of Sariputra and Mudagalyana too.

Further excavation in between 1987 and 1991 has brought to light the remains of a huge apsidal brick temple, east-west oriented, measuring 22 metres in length and 11.40 metres in width having a 3.30 metre thick wall with a circular stupa at the end like that of Karle or Bhanja. Apsidal temples are reported from various places like Mathura, Nagarjunkonda, Chesrala but not from Orissa except the existence of a solitary example of the laterite apsidal plan on Khandagiri hill-top. Such a huge apsidal *Caityagriha* at Lalitgiri further enlightened us regarding the importance of Lalitgiri in the eyes of Buddhists in Eastern India. On the extreme south-east corner of this apsidal temple, so to say to the left side of the entrance to the temple complex, we come across Kushana-Brahmi inscriptions and remains of Gupta shell inscriptions on the stone slab in the front. All these evidences lead us to believe that Lalitgiri earned the fame of a renowned Buddhist site from Pre-Christian era and continued in unbroken sequence till its final extinction in 12th-13th century A.D.

Besides the above discoveries, the excavations at Lalitgiri have yielded 4 nos. of monasteries so far. Among these the monastery No. 1 is double-storied. All the monasteries are made of stones and baked bricks with stone pillars and door-jambs. Out of these 4 monasteries unearthed from Lalitgiri, the monasery No. 1 measures 36m. x 36m.; the monastery No. 2 partly survives, monastery No. 3 measures 28m. x 27m. The monastery No. 4 is yet to be completely exposed. Several art-objects and antiquities, seals, sealings, etc., have been found from the monastery complex. Among the findings, some inscribed potsherds from Pre-Kushan to Post-Gupta character, kitchen complex along with domestic appliances, a drain measuring 27mtrs., a tiny figure of lion-elephant pendant with a base and a tiny standing Avalokiteswar both in white stone are worth mentioning. Antiquities and art-objects of Kushan/Gupta idioms are also among the notable findings. During the excavation of monastery No. 4 a monastic sealing found from a cell gives the reading "Shri Chandraditya Vihara Samagra Arya Bhikshu Samgha." Paleographically it is datable to 8th/9th century A.D. The sealing bears the symbol of wheel and is flanked by deer on top. The reading of the legend is unusual as it differs from reported traditional sealings of Nalanda, Ratnagiri, Piprawah, etc. The word "Samagra" mentioned here is uncommon and striking. One more fragmentary sealing also gives the initial reading "Chandraditya ... ..." - probably the similar legend. The character of scripts seems to be of early Gupta type.

A large number of sculpture of Buddha and other Buddhist divinities has been found through excavation at Lalitgiri both in intact and multilated conditions. The excavation reveals that the site was plundered in later days for the quarrying bricks, stones by the villagers in between 1860 and 1925 A.D.

The figures of Buddha discovered around the apsidal chaityagriha complex mainly belong to the earlier tradition. The arrangements of drapery and other features are similar to those of Sarnath School of Art and the date of these sculptures can be pushed back to Post-Gupta period.

Among the notable sculptures found from the excavation are life-size images of Buddha, Aparajita, Avalokiteswar, Manjusri, Tara, Jambhala, Hariti. One sculpture depicts Buddha's descent from Tushita heaven, one of the eight important miracles of Buddha.

All the exposed structures are now conserved and surroundings developed to facilitate tourists/visitors to go all round and for their posterity.

Udayagiri

The next important Buddhist site is Udayagiri (Lat. 20^0.38' 45", Lon. 86^0.16'25"E) situated on the eastern slope of a hill on the right bank of river Virupa, the highest point of which rises to a height of 300mtrs. above the surrounding plain. The author had the opportunity to take up excavation work at Udayagiri in 1986-87 and in course of the excavation we were able to bring to light the remains of a huge monastic complex with traditional cells, courtyard, sanctum sanctorum, pillared verandah, gateway, etc. This monastery is square in shape measuring 35mtr. on all sides, while the central courtyard is 12.40 mtr. square and the shrine chamber measures 3.15 x 2.75mtr. Around the courtyard 18 cells are situated, 5 each in the north and south, 4 each in eastern and western wings. All the cells are facing the open courtyard in the centre. An average cell measures 3.25 x 2.90mtr. In the north-east corner of the courtyard a huge stone drain is exposed meant for the drain-out of rain water. The sides of the drain were covered with vaulted roof and acts as secondary passage to entry inside through that narrow opening. The main entrance to the monsatery is from the eastern side.

Further excavation work conducted upto 1989 by Excavation Branch of A.S.I., Bhubaneswar exposed a large enclosure to the east of the exposed monastic complex which was hitherto unknown. Viewed from the riverside, the monastic complex with lush green jungle on the slopes of the hill forms an ideal back drop to the entire composition.

On the south-east corner of the complex a huge stupa is exposed. It is made out of brick and enclosed by a compound wall the vestiges of which are found in west-north and partly on eastern side. The space between the compound wall and stupa measures 2.5 mtr. used to serve as pradakshinapatha. The stupa is roughly square in plan with each side measuring 10 mtr. At the base of the stupa wide horizontal bands of curved bricks are provided followed by vertical walls of the superstructure. On all the 4 cardinal directions, special wide niches are provided to enshrine 4 unique figures of Dhyani Buddha about 1.5 mtr. high. On the east is Akshobhya, on the south Ratnasambhava, on the west Amitabha, on the north is Amogha Siddhi. Each image is inscribed with Buddhist creed in Brahmi character of 10th century A.D. which reads as follows *"Ye Dhamma hetu Prabhava hetu teshām Tathāgato hyavadat, tesham yo nirodha evam Vadi Maha Shramano."*

The stupa has a total height of approximately 7mtr. from the ground and about 4.8 mtr. from *pradakshinapatha*. The superstructure was badly damaged and devoid of 'Harmika' or 'Chattravali'.

Inside the *Garbhagriha* is found *in situ* the existence of a colossal image of Buddha in *Bhumisparsa Mudra*. The image is made out of 5 pieces of carved stone blocks and not a monolithic one.[8] On the entrance of the shrine chamber, exists a beautifully carved stone door-jamb and lintel depicting scrolls, floral design, Yakshas and Kinnaras, doorkeepers, etc. On the lintel is carved the image of Buddha flanked by Gandharvas.

In course of excavation a large number of stone sculptures are also discovered from the debris of the cells and sanctum sanctorum. They speak of the artistic skill of the then artists of Udayagiri with superior workmanship and lively finish. Besides, the images of Buddha in all the five popular poses i.e., Bhumisparsa, Dharmachakra, Abhaya, Varada and Dhyana mudras are also discovered in plenty. Images of Tara, Avalokiteswar, Maitreya, Aparajita, Vasudhara, Jambhala, Hariti are noteworthy. During excavations from the cells of the monastery over 126 sun-baked clay sealings are also discovered. They are traditional having depiction of Dharmachakra flanked by two deer on either side and bearing the inscription "Sri Madhavapura Mahavihara Arya Bhikshu Samgha", hitherto unknown name of the monastery i.e., Madhavpur Mahavihar, which again disapproves the hope of identification of Pushpagiri Mahavihara.

On the basis of archaeological excavations and excavated materials the antiquity of the monastery goes back to the end of 7th century or the early part of 8th century A.D. i.e., Post-Hiuen Tsang period and it continued upto 12/13th century A.D. Dr. B.K. Sinha, Excavator of Udayagiri monastic enclosures is of the opinion that monasteries at Ratnagiri as well as Lalitgiri do not have enclosure walls but at Udayagiri the enclosure wall is associated right from the beginning and has been rebuilt at least thrice. Why the enclosure wall was necessary at Udayagiri is a point to be investigated further. Whether it was the seat of Vajrayana sect, different from the one at Lalitgiri or Ratnagiri or may be a monastery of Bhikshunis (Nuns) which necessiated privacy is a matter for conjecture.

The Bhubaneswar Circle of Archaeological Survey of India in Orissa has undertaken comprehensive conservation and beautification work of the area and which is likely to be completed by the end of 1995.

Ratnagiri

Ratnagiri Buddhist establishment (Lat. 20".38'N Long 86^0.20'E) in the district Jajpur of Orissa is situated on an isolated hill of Asian range of Orissa. The hill is bounded on 3 sides by the river Brahmani, Kimira and Birupa.

Ratnagiri monastic complex crowning the flat hill-top is located at a distance of about 100 kms. north-east of Bhubaneswar, the State Capital and 21 kms. south of Jajpur the district headquarters and 10kms. north-east of Udayagiri monastic complex beyond river Birupa.

The hill affording a panoramic view of the surrounding may have been chosen as an ideal spot for the Buddhist establishment for its isolated eminence which ensured the monks' reclusion for the serene and calm atmosphere necessary for monastic life, meditation and studies.

Excavation in 4 sessions conducted by Archaeological Survey of India in late 60's yielded the remains of an impressive stupa (Stupa I) surrounded by an overwhelmingly large number of stupas, of varying dimensions, two quadrangular monasteries (Monastery 1 & 2), spectacular even in their ruins, a single-winged monastery and remains of 8 temples with small stupas around them, hundreds of votive stupas, myriads of sculptures, architectural fragments etc.

The remains of a large brick stupa (Stupa 1) situated on the south-western flank, highest part of the hill commands a view from a large distance. The base of the stupa had an elaborate but symetrical plan. It has 4 sides facing cardinal directions at each side measuring 14.351mtr. It consists of five recesses and six projections. The stupa had a solid core. The height from the base to top is about 5 mtrs. (17 ft.). The space between the two walls served as the *Pradakshinapatha.*

The monastery site at a lower level brought to light an extensive courtyard paved with stones. There are two monasteries. The larger one is known as Monastery No. 1, facing east. The basic plan of this monastery is Chatul-sala type, as it consists of a spacious stone-paved central courtyard around the four sides of which runs a verandah, which in turn is surrounded by 24 cells, a shrine fronted by an outer chamber and an entrance complex that contains a colossal image of Buddha in *Bhumisparsa mudra* and flanked by two magnificent figures of Avalokiteswara. The main door-way with elaborate carvings have also been found. The monastery is almost a square in size, 55.32 mtr. x 54.86 mtr. externally.

Further the existence of a temple with curvilinear tower (Rekha deul) is only one of its kind discovered in Orissa, as no such type dedicated to Buddhist deity so far has been met with. The temple is now in much dilapidated condition and belongs to private trust, but A.S.I. has taken initiatives to get it properly conserved to save it for posterity. The enshrined deity is known as Mahakala.

The monastery No. 2 which is also made of brick is separated from monastery No. 1 by a passage of 3.65 mtr. width. It faces south and has



General view of Monastery No.3



View of Relic Casket


General view of Monastery No.3


View of Relic Casket



Buddha Inside Mastic Cell at Udaygiri



Scaling of Udaygiri Manastery

an analogous plan devoid of upper storey and designed in a smaller scale. It consists of a central square courtyard, a pillared verandah all round, 18 cells and a shrine chamber, its size being 28.95 mtr. each side.

Besides, there is a single winged monastery to the north-east of monastery No. 1. This structure consists of a row of three cells fronted by a common verandah of 7.9 mtr. x 1.9 mtr. (approx.).

From these impressive remains with a large number of sculptures discovered during excavation, it is clear that the Buddhist establishment of Ratngiri, dating from circa 5th century A.D. witnessed a phenomenal growth in religion, art and architecture till 13th century A.D. A large number of stone sculptures, stone, bronze and brass images of Buddha and of Buddhist pantheon including inscribed tablets, terracotta seals, sealings were discovered. The inscription of the sealing which runs as follows *"Sri Ratnagiri Mahaviharaya Arya Bikshu Samghaya"*, tends to prove that Ratnagiri was a great Tantric centre of Buddhism comparable to that of Nalanda in Bihar.

The site also yielded a rich crop of antiquities. Among these antiquities, bronze and stone images of Buddha and host of divinities including Tara, Lokesvara, Padmapani, Vajrapani, Aparajita, Heruka Sambara, Vajra Tara, Hariti, etc. are noteworthy. These images are the finest products of Post-Gupta period of Indian art and Ratnagiri images remarkably preserve the Gupta idiom and sublimity. A life-size image of Tara depicted her actions in saving the followers/worshippers from 8 different calamities, like fire, snake bite, attack of wild animal, shipwreck etc. - common hazards which the traders used to come across.

By the end of 13th century A.D. it was in decline for decadence is discernible i.e. in architecture and sculptural art of Ratnagiri. Though no longer in an affluent condition, the Buddhist establishment of Ratnagiri continued till about 16th century A.D.

One attractive museum building is constructed on the north-west corner of the complex in 3 tier system using the natural slope of the hillock for housing and displaying of sculptures and other antiquities found from excavation. Organisational work is in progress.

References

1. (a) *Buddhism in Orissa* - N.K. Sahu, Page No. 10 ff.
   (b) *2500 years of Buddhism* - Edited by P.V. Bapat, Page - 278.
   (c) *History of Art of Orissa* - Charles Fabri, Page - 44.
2. *2500 years of Buddhism* - Edited by P.V. Bapat, Page - 277 ff.

3. *Ratnagiri* - Dr. Debala Mitra.
4. *Early and Mediaeval Coins and Currency System of Orissa* - Dr. Snigdha Tripathy, Page - 59.
5. *Epigraphica India* - Vol. XX - Page - 21 ff.
6. *Buddhism in Orissa* - N.K. Sahu, Page - 46.
7. *Buddhist Monuments* - Debala Mitra.
8. "The Pala images reported from Bengal, Bihar and eastern U.P. made out of black chlorite and even colossal images are monolithic ones, but in case of Lalitgiri/Udayagiri/Ratnagiri, colossal images are carved out of several pieces and joined together; speaks of south-east Asian influence on Orissan Art as such are predominant in Java and Cambodia.

Select Bibliography

1. Bapat, P.V. *2500 years of Buddhism.*
2. Chauley, G.C. *New Light on Buddhism in Orissa.* Late R.P. Mohapatra's Commemoration Lecture, 1989.
3. Fabri C.L. *History of Art of Orissa.*
4. Mitra D. *Buddhist Monuments.*
5. Mitra D. *Ratnagiri* 2 Vols.
6. Panigrahi K.C. *History of Orissa.*
7. Sahu N.K. *Buddhism in Orissa.*
8. Tripathy S. *Early and Mediaeval Coins and Currency System of Orissa.*

Epigraphica India, Vol. XX

Indian Archaeology - a Review. 1958-59, 1959-60, 1960-61, 1985-86, 1986-87, 1987-88.

Memoir of Archaeological Survey of India - No. 44.

Door-frames in the Buddhist Art of Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitagiri

Jagannath Dash

In the temple art and architecture of Orissa, the door frames or porches have been given utmost importance for beautification of the total structure. Unlike other parts of the temple, the door frames are usually executed on a selected variety of stones, which are of fine grain structure for finer carriages and have more load carrying capacity or strength. Though all the famous temples of Orissa are provided with gigantic well carved door frames, the door frames of Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitagiri attract special attention as the earliest types in the history of Orissan art and architecture.

According to historians, another importance of the door-ways in case of the Buddhist monuments is that unlike the Saivites, the Buddhists paid greater attention to carving out beautiful statues and designs in their monastic institutions than to the gigantic temple structures. Their temples, at present in ruins, do not possess any architectural richness like the Saivite temples. Their structures at Lalitagiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri show a simple building structure. As N.K. Sahu has rightly pointed out "excepting their highly ornamented doorways we are not getting any other carved pieces of building stones from their ruins". (Sahu:185).

The door-frame of Lalitagiri after recovery from the ruins had been utilised later in building some temple-like structure which was left unfinished. At present in the archaeological museum at Lalitagiri also a part of the door-way is noticed to have been preserved. However, in the unfinished structure, the upper portion of the door-frame is missing. To N.K. Sahu, it "consists of four bands of unequal size, with arabesque and floral designs, and in the third band human couples are found within small rectangular panels. Below these bands, on either side of the door-frame graceful figures of a dancing male and two accompanying female dancers have been engraved with great skill and care in a square panel framed with flower wreaths" (Ibidem:185-186).

Unlike the door-frame of Lalitagiri, the door-way of Udayagiri was found in perfect state of preservation. It shows an artistic excellence superior to that of Lalitagiri. John Beams has highly appreciated it and given a detailed description of its essential features. In his words, "the great glory

* Reader, Department of Anthropology, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.

of Udayagiri is the gateway. It consists of two upright slabs of stone, supporting a third as lintel. The dimensions are as follows: Height of opening 5'5", breadth of opening 2'3½", thickness of stone 1'3½". The two side jambs are divided into bands separated by grooves, 3/4 of an inch wide and 2½ inches deep. The panel or band nearest to the door-way is carved with a continuous wavy creeper, up which human figures are climbing in grotesque attitudes; from the excessively *nitambinī* outlines, they are probably intended for females. The next band has a columnar type, the pilaster of the column is adorned with intricate arabesques and lion heads. The next band is divided into tablets, each of which contains a beautifully carved group of a male and female figure engaged in what I may venture to call flirtation of an active kind. The beauty of these carvings is very striking, though they are much worn. The size of each tablet is 8" x 5" (Beams, 1875:19; Sahu:186). At present the complete door-way is preserved in Patna museum. Besides this main door-way, the door-way inside the monasteries, just before the Buddha (after crossing the courtyard) though very small in size, reveals excellently carved jambs and lintel. Though this is lying on the open courtyard, it is found more of less in complete form except only some portion of the lintel.

Of the three great Buddhist Mahaviharas or monuments at Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitagiri, Ratnagiri exceeds the other two in its artistic excellence. The carvings on the entrance porch and the door-ways of Ratnagiri silently prove it. The monastery-I of Ratnagiri shows an outstanding entrance gateway, which is a finest piece of artistic creation in comparison to similar others in Orissa. The door-opening in this frame of portal is 2.02 meters high and 1.01 meter wide and Khandalite as well as bluish-green chlorite stones had been used in it (Mitra, 1981). Dr. Debala Mitra has rightly remarked that "Indeed, the frame with its superb decoration, may well claim to be the loveliest entrance to a structural monastery in the whole of India" (Ibid).

The doorframe can be divided into four main parts of which the lintel and two jambs are beautifully carved, vertically. The jambs are divided into two parts, the lower part which forms the base and the upper part which bears the decorated portion. The base part shows four figures carved well within a frame—like design marked by four petalled flowers on the three sides and a beaded line on the upper part. The figures are given in the standing position on both the jambs. The height of the last figure is shorter in comparison to three others. The figures are well carved in half-closed eyes which may manifest a feeling of devotion. The figures are provided with beautiful beaded necklaces, ear-rings, bangles, armlets and head ornaments. The hair is tied by a string in case of two outer figures.

Out of these two, the outermost figure, to Mitra, holds a bag on the shoulder which may also be interpreted as a 'chamar' when the three figures are identified as a *dwarapala* (innermost), a noble person or king and next to him an umbrella-bearer. Uniformity and similarity in these four figures have been well tried on both the jambs. The so-called king or prince is observed to hold a lotus in the left hand and the figure next to him holds an umbrella over him. On both the sides these figures are found to hold a part of the covering cloth or *Uttariya*. Dr. (Mrs.) Mitra has interpreted these two groups of the king or prince and their servants thus: "it is likely that the monastery or at least a substantial part of it was the donation of a king" (1981 : 164).

On the upper part of the door jamb, three broad lines of carving are noticed. The innermost line of carving bears a fine and carefully carved creeper. The middle facet of carving shows a series of lotus petals done with a well decorative motif. In each lotus petal, pericarp is designed (may look like a jack fruit according to Dr. Mitra) in order to look beautiful. On the eastern jamb, there are eleven petals whereas on the other jamb twelve similar petals are noticed. Both sides of the lotus petals have been properly marked by two beaded lines.

On the outermost decorative parts (both sides), the creepers have been carved boldly. Playful boys are shown engaged in climbing, swinging and engaged in some other types of games on it. The sportive moods of the boys have been well expressed by the sculptor. But it is a remarkable feature that this outermost facet has not been continued on the lintel whereas the innermost and the middle facets have been continued. Covering both facets at the centre of the lintel, there is an image of goddess Laxmi in "abhiseka" position or *mudra,* carved within a beaded frame. She is seated in *padmasana.* She being positioned on two lotuses, two elephants are pouring water on her which may be interpreted as a case of bathing in "abhiseka". The goddess holds in her left hand a roundish vessel—like object and the right hand displays Varada-mudra.

On the lintel, the topmost facet is observed to be missing. With reference to the similar portion on the door-frame of Udayagiri, now preserved in Patna museum, Dr. (Mrs.) Mitra has presumed the location of twelve Vidyadharas on this facet. On the bottom of the lintel, also there was an iron beam. From the concave structure of the door-sill and depressions on it, Dr. Mitra has opined regarding the prolonged use of the monastery.

The door-frame or porch before the shrine complex in Ratnagiri also reveals similar decorative designs like that of Udayagiri. The door opening

in between the two jambs is only 80 cms. wide. Unlike that of Udayagiri, here the lintel portion in the shrine complex is also well carved with *dwarapalas* or door-keepers. Adornments of necklaces, sacred threads, bangles, armlets along with cloths around the waist show the admirable modelling of figures and high artistic excellence of the artists. Above this base structure, the remaining portion of the jambs reveal decorative patterns in two facets, out of which the inner facet shows a decorative creeper and the outer one bears a similar motif known as "Manushya-Kautuki" as in the frame of the portal.

Although the overall design of the door-frames in the above three Buddhist monuments manifests similar motifs, high aesthetic visions and exquisite workmanship of the artist in general, and specific consideration of each monument show some remarkable differences. Thus the use of various designs and motifs in Ratnagiri confirm an artistic excellence of high order in comparison to the other two. But the door-frame in the shrine complex of Udayagiri, at the present state of preservation in the site, is noticed to be more elegantly, richly and carefully decorated than that of Ratnagiri. However, from the artistic point of view, it may be simply analysed or interpreted that Ratnagiri was given greater importance in all respects. The basic motifs or designs on the door-frames of these Buddhist sites occupy a special position and maintain a unique style in relation to most other Buddhist monuments of the country. It speaks of the speciality of the the-then Kalinga artists, and a typical Orissan art style in the past. Although the door-frames in the later temple complexes of Orissa reveal some alterations and improvements in designing and modelling of the figures, from a close look, they like the past Buddhist arts are observed to be based on some fundamental Orissan Silpa-Shastras. As a result of this, certain decorative creepers found in the gate-way of Ratnagiri, are also commonly seen on the door-jambs of the later Orissan temples.

References

1. Sahu, N.K. 1958. ***Buddhism in Orissa***, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar.
2. Publication Division, 1976. ***Archaeology in India***, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Govt. of India.
3. Mitra, Debala. 1981. ***Ratnagiri***, Vol. I & II, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.
4. Mukherjee, Prabhat. ***The Buddhist Remains of Orissa***. Home (P.R.) Department, Govt. of Orissa.
5. Dash, Jagannath. 1988. ***"Utkaliya Bouddha Sanskrutire Kala O Sthapatya"*** (O), Published in the Special issue of Puspagiri.